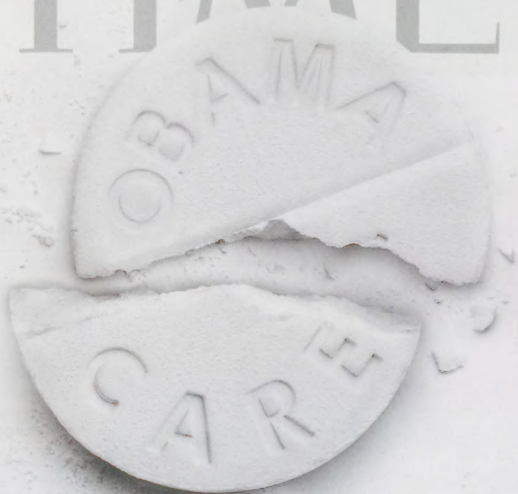


What Boys Want / The Yellen Fed By Rana Foroohar / *Candy Crush*

TIME



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BY NANCY GIBBS

PLUS WHAT IT MEANS FOR YOUR HEALTH CARE

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President Obama leaves the White House press briefing room on Nov. 14 after speaking about the health care law. Photograph by Carolyn Kaster—AP

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Photo-illustration by Sean Freeman for TIME

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Editor's Desk

Photographer Alec Soth chose *Rasen Kaigan*, by Lieke Shiga, describing it as "dreamlike"

Launches and Legacies

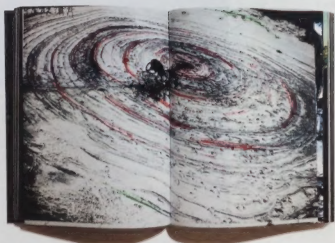


MOST PRESIDENTIAL TURNING POINTS appear only in hindsight. Some ultimately unpopular policies—the Korean or Vietnam or Iraq wars—began with broad public support, while others that end up as historic triumphs—the Marshall Plan, tax reform, welfare reform—faced fierce challenge at their launch. It is too soon to say how Obamacare will feature in this President's legacy, but it is already clear that Barack Obama's foremost legislative accomplishment will not survive its first year intact. The success of the President's second term will depend on how well he meets this test.

Also in this issue is a remarkable report on the hearts and minds of young men. Every few years, the spotlight tends to swing from girls to boys and back again: Who's racing ahead, who's falling behind, who suffers more from a hookup culture whose actual virulence is often exaggerated. (According to the CDC, the percentage of high school students who have had sex has actually decreased over the past 20 years, to 47.4%.) Author Rosalind Wiseman provided an atlas of *Girl World* with her 2002 best seller, *Queen Bees and Wannabes*, which became the basis for the hit movie *Mean Girls*. We asked her to lead us on a tour through *Boy World*—the inner lives and social challenges of adolescent boys—which she spent the past two years researching for her most recent book, *Masterminds and Wingmen*. She interviewed hundreds of boys from all regions, of all races, rich and poor, gay and straight, to plot the harmonics of school and home, their love lives, their sex lives, the power struggles that can make the U.N. General Assembly look placid. Just when technology makes communication so easy, learning how to text or tweet or post just the right Facebook comment requires skills most boys are not exactly born with. This makes it all the more miraculous that Wiseman, 44, was able to get boys to open up as she followed them through adolescence and into college, and theirs are the voices you'll hear in our story.

Nancy Gibbs

Nancy Gibbs, MANAGING EDITOR



ON VIEW For the third year in a row, TIME's photo blog reached out to prominent photographers, gallery owners, publishers and critics, asking them to pick their favorite photo books of the year. The more than 30 contributors for 2013 chose a wide range of material, including war photography, Polaroids from the '70s and '80s, religious images and psychedelic fine art. See the full list—including selections by TIME's photo editors—at lightbox.time.com.

Some of the photo books nominated as the best of 2013



NOW ON TIME.COM

Newly elected Senator Cory Booker is known for his prolific tweeting. Our Twitter tracker (at ideas.time.com) measures his activity pre- and post-Washington. A sampling of Booker's most talked about:

DEC. 27, 2012

I'm for the slop on top of the pop RT @sjaayrobin: America needs leader who'll ban production of Unfrosted Poptarts. Your stance on the issue

SEPT. 8, 2010

Snookil I'm the mayor where R U so I can give u a ticket 4 texting & driving we needs revenue!! RT @Snookil Ugh stuck in Nwk traffic is no fun

JAN. 15, 2010

STAY THERE I AM COMING NOW MYSELF. RT @KAMORI07 LETS TALK POLICE RESPONSE! I'M ON NYE AVE AND HOBSON IN AN ACCIDENT STILL WAITING 4 POLICE.



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"My antidepressant worked hard.
But sometimes I still struggled
with my depression."



Adding ABILIFY (aripiprazole) may help with unresolved depressive symptoms as early as 1-2 weeks if you've been on an antidepressant for at least 6 weeks.*

ABILIFY (aripiprazole) is a prescription medicine used to treat depression in adults as an add-on treatment to an antidepressant when an antidepressant alone is not enough.

Important Safety Information

Elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis (e.g., an inability to perform daily activities due to increased memory loss) taking ABILIFY have an increased risk of death or stroke. ABILIFY is not approved for treating these patients.

Antidepressants can increase suicidal thoughts and behaviors in children, teens, and young adults. Serious mental illnesses are themselves associated with an increase in the risk of suicide. When taking ABILIFY, call your doctor right away if you have new or worsening depression symptoms, unusual changes in behavior, or thoughts of suicide. Patients and their caregivers should be especially observant within the first few months of treatment or after a change in dose. Approved only for adults 18 and over with depression.

- Call your doctor if you develop very high fever, rigid muscles, shaking, confusion, sweating, or increased heart rate and blood pressure, as these may be signs of a rare but potentially fatal condition called **neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS)**.
- If you have **diabetes** or have risk factors or symptoms of diabetes, your blood sugar should be monitored. High blood sugar has been reported with ABILIFY and medicines like it. In some cases, extreme high blood sugar can lead to coma or death.

*Based on 6-week clinical studies comparing ABILIFY + antidepressant versus antidepressant alone.

- If you develop uncontrollable facial or body movements, call your doctor, as these may be signs of **tardive dyskinesia (TD)**. TD may become permanent and the risk of TD may increase with the length of treatment and the overall dose. While TD can develop after taking the medicine at low doses for short periods, this is much less common. There is no known treatment for TD, but it may go away partially or completely if the medicine is stopped.
- **Other risks** may include lightheadedness upon standing, decreases in white blood cells (which can be serious), seizures, trouble swallowing, or impairment in judgment or motor skills. Until you know how ABILIFY affects you, you should not drive or operate machinery.

The **common side effects** in adults in clinical trials ($\geq 10\%$) include nausea, vomiting, constipation, headache, dizziness, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), anxiety, and insomnia. Tell your doctor about all the medicines you're taking, since there are some risks for drug interactions. You should avoid alcohol while taking ABILIFY.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please read the additional Important Information about ABILIFY on the adjacent page.

Ask your doctor about the option of adding ABILIFY.



Learn about a **FREE** trial offer at ABILIFYfreeOffer.com or 1-800-393-5553

Bristol-Myers Squibb Company | PATIENT ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION
This non-profit organization provides assistance to qualifying patients with financial hardship who generally have no prescription insurance. Contact 1-800-734-0003 or visit www.bmspa.org for more information.

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August 2013 030113EP0067

ABILIFY® (a BIL i fi) R₀ONLY (aripiprazole)

This summary of the Medication Guide contains risk and safety information for patients about ABILIFY. This summary does not include all information about ABILIFY and is not meant to take the place of discussions with your healthcare professional about your treatment. Please read this important information carefully before you start taking ABILIFY and discuss any questions about ABILIFY with your healthcare professional.

What is the most important information I should know about ABILIFY?

Serious side effects may happen when you take ABILIFY, including:

- **Increased risk of death in elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis:** Medicines like ABILIFY can raise the risk of death in elderly people who have lost touch with reality (psychosis) due to confusion and memory loss (dementia). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.
- **Risk of suicidal thoughts or actions:** Antidepressant medicines, depression and other serious mental illnesses, and suicidal thoughts or actions: Antidepressant medicines may increase suicidal thoughts or actions in some children, teenagers, and young adults within the first few months of treatment. Depression and other serious mental illnesses are the most important causes of suicidal thoughts and actions. Some people may have a particularly high risk of having suicidal thoughts or actions including people who have (or have a family history of) bipolar illness (also called manic-depressive illness) or suicidal thoughts or actions.

How can I watch for and try to prevent suicidal thoughts and actions in myself or a family member?

- Pay close attention to any changes, especially sudden changes, in mood, behaviors, thoughts, or feelings. This is very important when an antidepressant medicine is started or when the dose is changed.
- Call the healthcare provider right away to report new or sudden changes in mood, behaviors, thoughts, or feelings.
- Keep all follow-up visits with the healthcare provider as scheduled. Call the healthcare provider between visits as needed, especially if you have concerns about symptoms.

Call a healthcare provider right away if you or your family member has any of the following symptoms, especially if they are new, worse, or worry you:

- thoughts about suicide or dying, attempts to commit suicide, new or worse depression, new or worse anxiety, feeling very agitated or restless, panic attacks, trouble sleeping (insomnia), new or worse irritability, acting aggressive, being angry, or violent, acting on dangerous impulses, an extreme increase in activity and talking (mania), other unusual changes in behavior or mood.

What else do I need to know about antidepressant medicines?

- **Never stop an antidepressant medicine without first talking to a healthcare provider.** Stopping an antidepressant medicine suddenly can cause other symptoms.
- **Antidepressants are medicines used to treat depression and other illnesses.** It is important to discuss all the risks of treating depression and also the risks of not treating it. Patients and their families or other caregivers should discuss all treatment choices with the healthcare provider, not just the use of antidepressants.
- **Antidepressant medicines have other side effects.** Talk to the healthcare provider about the side effects of the medicine prescribed for you or your family member.
- **Antidepressant medicines can interact with other medicines.** Know all of the medicines that you or your family member takes. Keep a list of all medicines to show the healthcare provider. Do not start new medicines without first checking with your healthcare provider.
- **Not all antidepressant medicines prescribed for children are FDA approved for use in children.** Talk to your child's healthcare provider for more information.

What is ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

ABILIFY is a **prescription medicine used to treat:**

- major depressive disorder in adults, as an add-on treatment to an antidepressant medicine when you do not get better with an antidepressant alone.

The symptoms of major depressive disorder (MDD) include

feelings of sadness and emptiness, loss of interest in activities that you once enjoyed and loss of energy, problems focusing and making decisions, feeling of worthlessness or guilt, changes in sleep or eating patterns, and thoughts of death or suicide.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking ABILIFY?

Before taking ABILIFY, tell your healthcare provider if you have or had:

- diabetes or high blood sugar in you or your family; your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and also during therapy.
- seizures (convulsions).
- low or high blood pressure.
- heart problems or stroke.
- pregnancy or plans to become pregnant.
- breastfeeding or plans to breast-feed; ABILIFY can pass into your breast milk and may harm your baby. Talk to your healthcare provider about the best way to feed your baby if you receive ABILIFY.
- low white blood cell count.
- phenylketonuria. ABILIFY DISCMLT Orally Disintegrating Tablets contain phenylalanine.
- any other medical conditions.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines that you take or recently have taken, including prescription medicines, non-prescription medicines, herbal supplements, and vitamins.

ABILIFY and other medicines may affect each other causing possible serious side effects. ABILIFY may affect the way other medicines work, and other medicines may affect how ABILIFY works.

Your healthcare provider can tell you if it is safe to take ABILIFY with your other medicines. Do not start or stop any medicines while taking ABILIFY without talking to your healthcare provider first. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines to show your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How should I take ABILIFY?

- Take ABILIFY exactly as your healthcare provider tells you to take it. Do not change the dose or stop taking ABILIFY yourself.
- ABILIFY can be taken with or without food.
- ABILIFY tablets should be swallowed whole.
- If you miss a dose of ABILIFY, take the missed dose as soon as you remember. If it is almost time for the next dose, just skip the missed dose and take your next dose at the regular time. Do not take two doses of ABILIFY at the same time.
- If you take too much ABILIFY, call your healthcare provider or poison control center at 1-800-222-1222 night away, or go to the nearest hospital emergency room.

What should I avoid while taking ABILIFY?

- Do not drive, operate heavy machinery, or do other dangerous activities until you know how ABILIFY affects you. ABILIFY may make you drowsy.
- Do not drink alcohol while taking ABILIFY.
- Avoid getting over-heated or dehydrated.
- Do not over-exercise.
- In hot weather, stay in the sun in a cool place if possible.
- Stay out of the sun. Do not wear too much or heavy clothing.
- Drink plenty of water.

What are the possible side effects of ABILIFY?

Serious side effects have been reported with ABILIFY including:

- **Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS):** Tell your healthcare provider right away if you have some or all of the following symptoms: high fever, stiff muscles, confusion, sweating, changes in pulse, heart rate, and blood pressure.

These may be symptoms of a rare and serious condition that can lead to death. Call your healthcare provider right away if you have any of these symptoms.

- **High blood sugar (hyperglycemia):** Increases in blood sugar can happen in some people who take ABILIFY (aripiprazole). Extremely high blood sugar can lead to coma or death. If you have diabetes or risk factors for diabetes (such as being overweight or a family history of diabetes), your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and during therapy. Call your healthcare provider if you have any of these symptoms of high blood sugar while taking ABILIFY:
 - feel very thirsty, need to urinate more than usual, feel very hungry, feel weak or tired, feel sick to your stomach, feel confused, or your breath smells fruity.
- **Increase in weight:** Weight gain has been reported in patients taking medicines like ABILIFY, so you and your healthcare provider should check your weight regularly. For children and adolescent patients (6 to 17 years of age) weight gain should be compared against that expected with normal growth.
- **Difficulty swallowing:** may lead to aspiration and choking.
- **Tardive dyskinesia:** Call your healthcare provider about any movements you cannot control in your face, tongue, or other body parts. These may be signs of a serious condition. Tardive dyskinesia may not go away, even if you stop taking ABILIFY. Tardive dyskinesia may also start after you stop taking ABILIFY.
- **Orthostatic hypotension (decreased blood pressure):** lightheadedness or fainting when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position.
- **Low white blood cell count**
- **Seizures (convulsions)**

Common side effects with ABILIFY in adults include nausea, inner sense of restlessness/need to move (akathisia), vomiting, anxiety, constipation, insomnia, headache, restlessness, dizziness.

These are not all the possible side effects of ABILIFY. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

General information about ABILIFY

- Store ABILIFY at room temperature, between 59°F to 86°F. Opened bottles of ABILIFY Oral Solution can be used for up to 6 months after opening, but not beyond the expiration date on the bottle. Keep ABILIFY and all medicines out of the reach of children.
- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide. Do not use ABILIFY for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ABILIFY to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them.
- This summary contains the most important information about ABILIFY. If you would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider. For more information about ABILIFY visit www.abilify.com.

Tablets manufactured by Otsuka Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd., Tokyo, 101-8535 Japan or Bristol-Myers Squibb Company, Princeton, NJ 08543 USA.

Orally Disintegrating Tablets, Oral Solution, and Injection manufactured by Bristol-Myers Squibb Company, Princeton, NJ 08543 USA.

Distributed and marketed by Otsuka America Pharmaceutical, Inc., Rockville, MD 20850 USA.

ABILIFY is a trademark of Otsuka Pharmaceutical Company.

A small, arched tombstone with the inscription "R.I.P. MING THE MOLLUSK".



Briefing

LightBox

An Ill Wind

An aerial shot taken on Nov. 18 shows some of the more than 1,000 homes damaged or leveled in Washington, Ill., by an EF-4 tornado a day earlier that killed one resident and injured some 120. At least 16 tornadoes tore through Illinois and Indiana that day.

Photograph by Nathan Weber for TIME

FOR PICTURES ONLINE, VISIT
lightbox.time.com





World

Syria's War Goes International With Beirut Bombing

BY ARYN BAKER

Just hours after suicide bombers attacked the Iranian embassy in Lebanon's capital, Beirut, on Nov. 19—killing 25, including Iran's cultural attaché there—claims of responsibility and accusations started flying. The al-Qaeda-linked and Lebanon-based Abdullah Azzam Brigade said it was behind the attack, according to a tweet by the group's religious leader Sheik Sirajeddine Zuraiqat.

Bizarrely, Iran's government immediately blamed Israel, calling the attack "an inhuman crime and spiteful act done by Zionists and their mercenaries" in a Foreign Ministry statement released by the official IRNA news agency.



Aid workers carry a body from the blast site in Beirut on Nov. 19

Zuraiqat threatened that his group, which takes its name from Osama bin Laden's Palestinian mentor, would continue its bombing campaign until Iran pulled its forces out of Syria, a likely reference to the Iranian-backed Lebanese Shi'ite militia Hizballah, which is fighting on behalf of Syrian President Bashar Assad. The Iranian embassy is in the Hizballah-dominated southern suburbs of Beirut, where a similarly devastating car bombing killed 27 people on Aug. 15; that attack too was claimed to be retaliation for Hizballah's support for Assad. In response, two bombs were set off on Aug. 23 in the Sunni stronghold of Tripoli in northern Lebanon, killing more than 40. If the embassy bombing provokes similar reprisals, it will confirm growing fears that Lebanon has become the new front in the sectarian war that has engulfed Syria.

POLL

WORLD'S COSTLIEST RETAIL LOCATIONS

Cushman & Wakefield analyzed 334 shopping districts in 64 countries to tally the priciest spaces. The top three (in annual rent per sq. ft.):



\$3,017

Causeway Bay
Hong Kong



\$2,500

Fifth Avenue
New York City



\$1,601

Avenue des Champs-Élysées
Paris



The Explainer

Terms of the U.S.-Afghan Security Talks

Secretary of State John Kerry announced Nov. 20 that the U.S. and Afghanistan reached a deal that would significantly alter the U.S. troop presence in Afghanistan after 2014. The agreement is subject to approval by a *loya jirga*, a grand council of Afghan elders. Here's what it's expected to include.

1. MILITARY COOPERATION

According to NBC News, the U.S. would maintain bases in order to fight al-Qaeda; in return, it would continue to pay for Afghanistan's costly security force.

2. FEWER U.S. GROUND TROOPS

The number would be about 7,000 to 10,000, down from 48,000 now.

3. LIMITED RAIDS

The U.S. would still have the power to raid Afghan homes but only in what both countries agreed to be "extraordinary circumstances."

Roundup

What China Doesn't Want Social-Media Users to See

ProPublica joined up with other researchers last summer to monitor posts from 100 users on Sina Weibo—the Chinese equivalent of Twitter—who had been censored in the past. These types of images were frequently removed:

A FALLEN LEADER

One-tenth of the images were of Bo Xilai—the former rising politician recently sentenced to life in prison for bribery, embezzlement and abuse of power—or symbols representing him or his scandal



CARICATURES

These satirized the "50-Cent Party," the government workers who post comments to manipulate online conversation and who are thought to be paid 0.5 yuan (8¢) for each post



A FAMOUS SINGER

Song Zuying—rumored to have had an affair with former Chinese President Jiang Zemin—was shown walking with a woman who held an umbrella for her; the accompanying post asked if Song thought she was an empress



ITALY A demonstrator kisses a riot-police officer in Susa on Nov. 16 as thousands protest a planned high-speed train line that would pass through the northwestern village. The multibillion-dollar project linking Lyon, France, and Tonno, Italy, is expected to begin service in 2025 or 2026. It could take 1 million trucks off highways each year and reduce travel time between Paris and Milan from seven hours to about four. *Photograph by Marco Bertorello—AFP/Getty Images*

BRAZIL

2,256

Sq. mi. of Amazon rain forest reportedly lost to deforestation from August 2012 to July 2013; activists blame the 28% rise in one year on looser environmental laws

LENGTHY TEXTS

Censors are quick to catch forbidden words but users can convert political essays and activists' petitions into image files to bypass the monitoring with services like Chang Weibo; these account for 24% of the pulled images.


A "FAITH HEALER"

Pictures of Wang Lin, a qigong master known for purported feats like curing cancer, were reportedly axed because of his ties to China's elite, as well as government criticism of his supernatural claims.

PHILIPPINES

'As your President, I am not allowed to get angry, even if I am already upset.'

BENIGNO AQUINO III

[illegible]

Trending In



DISCOVERY

**Traces of a
14th century B.C.
Canaanite city
were unearthed
by archaeologists
beneath biblical-era
ruins in Israel.**

PROGRESS

Camila Vallejo, 25, who helped lead a Chilean student uprising in 2011, was elected to Congress with three other former protest leaders.



DIPLOMACY

New documents show that Australia tried to monitor Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's phone calls



HUMAN RIGHTS

Amnesty International accused Qatar of gravely exploiting migrant construction workers with long hours and no pay.



Nation

Cheney Family Values

The benefits and burdens of running on a famous name

BY ALEX ALTMAN/CHEYENNE

INSIDE A COZY WYOMING living room, Liz Cheney is putting family first. The Republican Senate hopeful opens a pitch to a wine-sipping crowd with a tale about the time her daughter Grace, now 13, heard Barack Obama say he wanted to bring accused terrorists to the U.S. for trial. "Use your brain, dude," the girl chirped at the TV, according to her mom's retelling. "That's totally stupid." The room burst into applause.

An admirable closeness has long been the defining feature of the Cheney clan. "The Cheneys have always done everything as a family," says Bill Thomson, a Cheyenne lawyer and longtime friend who is co-chairing Liz's campaign. Grace, a junior rodeo champion, drops in on events and stars in Liz's first ad. The candidate's speeches are dotted with references to her famous dad. The former Vice President waded into the race by claiming that Liz's Republican opponent, three-term Senator Mike Enzi, lied about being an old fishing buddy of Dick's—as low a blow as can be laid on the High Plains. A few weeks earlier, Liz's mom Lynne tore into former Wyoming Senator Alan Simpson at a charity event for refusing to sign a piece of memorabilia, which in this case happened to be a giveaway football.

But the family unity is fraying. After Liz reaffirmed her opposition to same-sex marriage during a Nov. 17 appearance on Fox News, her

sister Mary, who is married to a woman, tapped out a blistering note on Facebook. "Liz, this isn't just an issue on which we disagree," Mary wrote. "You're just wrong—and on the wrong side of history."

All families have their spats and squabbles, but rarely do they become national news. The Senate campaign of Liz Cheney, designed in part to pass the political torch from the Vice President to his talented progeny, has become more like a range war. It is tearing Wyoming Republicans in two and threatens to sunder a powerful family facing the real prospect of fading from public life for the first time since the mid-1970s.

Dick and Lynne Cheney find themselves caught between one daughter's ambitions and another's rights. The day after Mary exploded at Liz, the parents issued a statement that seemed to side with the candidate, who is trying to court the conservative base in a solidly Republican state. "This is an issue we have dealt with privately for many years, and we are pained to see it become public," they wrote. "Since it has, one thing should be clear. Liz has always believed in the traditional definition of marriage."

It is not the first time the family has faced the contradiction. When he ran for Vice President in 2000, Dick Cheney defied Republican orthodoxy by backing same-sex-marriage rights. Mary Cheney, who wed her long-time partner in 2012,

RANGE WAR

The tight-knit Cheney clan has been split by a clash over gay marriage. Here are the main players:

Before launching her Senate campaign, Liz Cheney, 47, was a senior State Department official and conservative pundit.



LIZ



MIKE ENZI

Enzi, a popular three-term incumbent Senator, boasts a lead in very early primary polls.

served as an adviser to that campaign. Four years later, George W. Bush, in a bid to galvanize movement conservatives, made a constitutional ban on gay marriage a cornerstone of his platform, while aides worked behind the scenes to put the question onto the ballot in key swing states like Ohio. Mary wavered on joining the re-election campaign but decided to do so to support her father, who was under fire for bucking the base.

Mary, who works as a political consultant outside

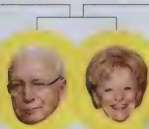
D.C., generally keeps a low profile. Liz, by contrast, likes the spotlight. She was a fixture on the trail when Dick first ran for Congress in 1978, rattling around Wyoming in an RV, listening to eight-track tapes of the Carpenters. A decade later, her college thesis argued for expansive presidential powers in wartime, a pillar of her father's governing philosophy. Liz prepped him for vice-presidential debates and became a national-security hawk at the Bush State Department and later on Fox News

SISTERS



Mary Cheney, 44, served as an adviser to the Bush-Cheney campaigns. She has twice publicly taken issue with her sister's opposition to gay marriage.

MARY



DICK & LYNNE

The former Vice President and his wife have been caught between their support for same-sex marriage and support for Liz's Senate bid.



HEATHER POE

Heather Poe, who married Mary last year in Washington, said Liz's position is "offensive to say the least."

and at the foreign policy group she co-founded, Keep America Safe. After he left office, she co-authored his memoir. "You'd be hard-pressed to find any daylight at all between Liz's and my father's views," Mary said in 2009. "It's not because she's been indoctrinated. It's because he's right."

When Liz jumped into the Wyoming primary in July, her dad bequeathed the campaign some of the Bush Administration's brightest minds and biggest donors, not to mention a network of friends and

'YOU'RE JUST WRONG—AND ON THE WRONG SIDE OF HISTORY.'

—MARY CHENEY, TO HER SISTER LIZ

former campaign hands. The most powerful Vice President in history and an architect of everything from the Bush Administration's tax cuts to its warrantless-wiretapping program, Cheney never made a secret of his wish to see his daughter win a Senate seat. "When I told them I was going to run," Liz says of her parents, "they were very excited."

But she learned there were both benefits and burdens to running as a legate. She is fighting history—not just her dad's controversial record

but also her own Washington résumé and Enzi's decades of service to a state that locals liken to "a small town with really long streets." Wyoming prizes an old-fashioned style of retail politics in which candidates are comfortable "driving five hours to visit a town with a population of three," explains Enzi, 69, a white-haired former shoe salesman who first served as a state legislator and small-town mayor.

Since moving back to Wyoming last year, Liz, 47, has adopted its habits. She's clocked 16,000 miles (25,750 km) crisscrossing the Cowboy State to pitch herself as an uncompromising conservative. Smart and tenacious, she rattles off the merits of a smaller government and a muscular foreign policy as easily as anyone. But she is finding that what some voters want is not so much a famous name as a familiar neighbor. And she is struggling to shed the carpetbagger label. "It feels like an alien takeover," says Liz Brimmer, a Wyoming-based Republican strategist who supports Enzi. "This is a highly engineered effort by the people who are the very face of the D.C. establishment trying to spin it as an antiestablishment campaign."

Liz Cheney says the race is about public service, not brand or bloodlines. "There's nothing about this that's about legacy," she told *TIME* in an interview at the Cheyenne public library a few days before the feud erupted. "I believe in the things I'm fighting for."

Is a Senate seat worth the cost to family peace? It is likely to be months before the answer is clear. For Liz, the past may be prologue. Asked to name the chief lesson of her father's career, she replies, "Having the courage of your convictions." ■

Business

Pop and Pour

Craft bottled cocktails are bringing mixology to the masses

BY ERIC DODDS

IN THE BASEMENT OF THE AVIARY, IN Chicago, cocktail enthusiasts line up to pay \$20 for one of Charles Joly's Southsides—a custom blend of gin, lime juice, sugar and fresh mint. But what if you could serve the same thing at a routine dinner party simply by unscrewing a bottle?

This is the next wave of ready-to-drink cocktails. Inspired in part by the success of companies like Jose Cuervo and Skinnygirl, which parlayed premixed margaritas into multimillion-dollar product lines, a new crop of niche bartenders aims to bring high-end cocktails to the masses. In lieu of cosmos and piña colodas, they're selling mixes of Negronis, Moscow mules and more. "We wanted to take what we do at the bar and replicate that as closely as we could in the bottle," says Joly, whose Crafthouse Cocktail line launched in July.

The challenge is quality control. Part of the allure of high-end cocktails is they're made fresh and served with precision—not popped open and poured over ice. That's why more bottled mixes contain citrus juices, which keep, than trendier ingredients like egg whites. Nonetheless, cocktail consumers are finicky. "It's a very trend-oriented business," says Donna Crecca, an adult-beverage analyst at the research firm Technomic. "It'll spike and then decline depending on the level of product innovation."

But early signs show potential. Although the overall volume of bottled-cocktail sales declined 3.4% last year, to 6.5 million 9-L cases, the craft category is growing. U.K.-based Handmade Cocktail, founded in late 2011, is already selling 20 offerings online, and the Ace Hotel of Portland, Ore., and Houston's Anvil Bar & Refuge, among others, have started bottling their own cocktails to serve quickly at bars. Joly too is hoping to expand. "Once people know the brand and trust the brand," he says, "that'll give us a little more room to play with."

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Milestones



DIED

Doris Lessing

Protean Nobel Prize-winning novelist

Over a long life—she was 94 when she died on Nov. 17—Lessing produced dozens of novels, stories and essays—and one explosive device. It was her great and intricate second novel, *The Golden Notebook*, published in 1962. In it she set for herself nothing less than the task taken on by Anna Wulf, the writer-character who is Lessing's stand-in: to "create a new way of looking at life."

Wulf, a beset single mother trying to live as freely as a man, keeps four notebooks. The black one recounts her youth in West Africa before and during World War II. (The daughter of English parents, Lessing grew up in what was then the British colony of Southern Rhodesia.) In the red, she examines her postwar years in London and her gradual loss of faith in communism. The blue notebook is a diary that charts her inner life. In the yellow, she works on a new novel. Then in a fifth, golden one, she tries to tie all the strands of her life together. *The Golden Notebook* is routinely called a landmark of the emerging feminist consciousness, which it is. When the Nobel Prize for Literature came to Lessing in 2007, the announcement called her "the epicist of the female experience." Yet Lessing found that reading too limiting. As she told one interviewer, "The second line (of the book) is 'Everything's cracking up.' That is what *The Golden Notebook* is about!" Which it is. —RICHARD LACAYO

HOSPITALIZED

Virginia state senator **Creigh Deeds**, after being stabbed in the face and chest, allegedly by his son Austin. The younger Deeds was found dead of an apparently self-inflicted gunshot wound.

DIED

Glafkos Clerides, 94, President of Cyprus, from 1993 to 2003; as leader of the Greek Cypriots he devoted years, in vain, to pursuing an agreement with Turkish Cypriots to reunify Cyprus after its 1974 partition.

ARRESTED

George Zimmerman, on charges of aggravated assault, battery and criminal mischief, four months after his acquittal in the Trayvon Martin murder trial. Zimmerman allegedly aimed a shotgun at his girlfriend.

DIED

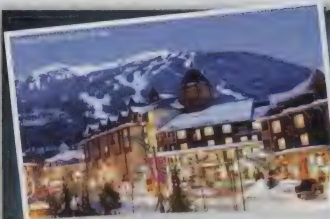
Suzanne Blanché, 61, sociologist best known for determining that, contrary to popular belief, working mothers of the late 20th century spent as much time with their children as their 1960s stay-at-home predecessors.

DIED

Nicholas Mevoli, 32, New York City-based "free diver," after surfacing from Dean's Blue Hole, a deep-ocean site in the Bahamas. He was trying to set a record by diving 236 ft. (72 m) without fins or an oxygen tank.

CHARGED

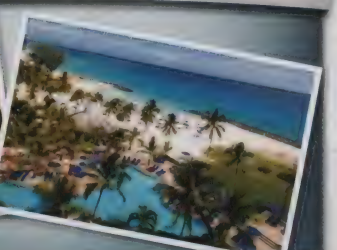
With cocaine possession, freshman Republican Congressman **Trey Radel** of Florida. After submitting a guilty plea to the misdemeanor charge, Radel was sentenced to a year of probation.



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Rana Foroohar

Yellen for America

Forget the White House and Congress. The Fed is now our most powerful political institution



THE ONE PERSON IN WASHINGTON who can get anything done these days will very likely be confirmed in the next few weeks: Janet Yellen, the presumptive new chair of the Federal Reserve. Yellen is the Fed vice chair nominated by President Obama to succeed Ben Bernanke. She has been breezing through the confirmation process and is on track to head up what is now the most powerful political institution in America—at least when measured by its impact on jobs and the economy.

In fact, you could say the Federal Reserve has become far more important than the President or Congress as the shepherd of the U.S. economy. Washington gridlock has made it impossible for either the Executive or the Legislative Branch to play that role. "Government is not really capable at the moment, and Congress is anxious to disagree about anything. So the Fed is left with an opportunity to do something useful," says Carnegie Mellon professor Allan Meltzer, the world's foremost historian of the central bank.

THE FED HAS ALREADY DONE PLENTY WITH ITS unique stimulus program of quantitative easing, or QE, the \$85 billion-a-month purchase of bonds and mortgage-backed assets that started pumping cash into the system in 2008. One of the reasons that the money dump has continued for so long is fiscal headwinds, which is Fed-speak for job-destroying partisan politics. Bernanke and now Yellen may not be empowered to craft a real fiscal policy—that is, a federal budget with taxing and spending calibrated to help the economy—but they figure that the least they can do is prop up stock and home prices. A new report on the implications of QE by the McKinsey Global Institute estimates that "unconventional monetary policies," including asset buying and low interest rates, have shaved a whole percentage point off the unemployment rate and prevented a deflationary spiral in the U.S. economy.

They have also increased the risk of market bubbles—something Yellen says she's watching closely, though she still believes the "benefits exceed the costs." Yet even if we don't hear a big *pop*, many critics believe that the QE program has outlived its usefulness. "We don't have a monetary problem," says Meltzer. "There's plenty of cash

in the system." Rather, we have a real-economy growth problem.

The limitations of monetary stimulus may help explain why the Fed appears to be moving into interesting new areas of policymaking. While the central bank's easy-money policies have enriched the top quarter of American households, which hold most of the country's stock assets, they have done much less for the rest, people who continue to struggle with flat wages and higher than normal unemployment. "If you don't have a house or stock, you don't benefit as much" from QE, at least directly, says Boston Fed president Eric Rosengren.

The need to do more to bolster the real economy is one reason Rosengren has taken the unprecedented step of partnering with a national philanthropic collective, Living Cities, to launch a grant competition among midsize cities in Massachusetts, including old Rust Belt towns like Lowell and Pittsfield. The goal is to find the smartest ways to improve the economic health and well being of lower-income citizens. (The efforts were praised in an April speech by Bernanke as a model for other Fed leaders across the country.) Rosengren lauds the entrepreneurial energy of the large immigrant population in many of these cities and notes that nearly half the grant score will be based on "collaborative" government—quite a message to send to a polarized Washington.

The idea of a Fed president's speaking out so explicitly on political issues, from community development to immigration, is new—and Rosengren isn't the only one doing it. Recently New York Fed president William C. Dudley gave a talk about the too-big-to-fail problem in banking in which he not only made policy prescriptions for how to clean up the financial system but also offered pointed opinions about the culture of banking. Dudley noted a "problem evident within some large financial institutions—the apparent lack of respect for law, regulation and the public trust ... Whether this is due to size and complexity, bad incentives or some other issues is difficult to judge, but it is another critical problem that needs to be addressed." Rarely, if ever, has a Fed leader spoken so frankly about the financial industry. It underscored yet another area in which Congress and the President have failed to lead: the deregulation of the industry in the wake of the financial crisis. If the Fed wants to take on that task, I say more power to it. ■

THE ACTIVIST FED



CASH

While Washington was gridlocked over the budget, the Fed kept the QE money flowing



JOBS

The Boston Fed is pushing a program to spur local growth



'REGULATION'

New York Fed chief William Dudley is speaking out about a dangerous bank culture



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Who should use Humalog?

Humalog is used to treat people with diabetes for the control of high blood sugar.

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION FOR HUMALOG

What is the most important information I should know about Humalog?

- Do not change the insulin you use without talking to your healthcare provider. Doses of oral antidiabetic medicines may also need to change if your insulin is changed.
- Test your blood sugar levels as your healthcare provider instructs.
- When used in a pump, do not mix Humalog with any other insulin or liquid.

Who should not take Humalog?

- Do not take Humalog if your blood sugar is too low (hypoglycemia) or if you are allergic to insulin lispro or any of the ingredients in Humalog.

Before using Humalog, what should I tell my healthcare providers?

- Tell your healthcare providers.
- About all of your medical conditions, including liver, kidney, or heart problems.
 - If you are pregnant or breastfeeding.
 - About all the medicines you take, including prescription (especially ones commonly called TZDs [thiazolidinediones]) and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

How should I use Humalog?

- Humalog is a rapid-acting insulin. Take Humalog within fifteen minutes before eating or right after eating a meal.
- Always make sure you receive the correct type of Humalog from the pharmacy.
- Do not use Humalog if it is cloudy, colored, or has solid particles or clumps in it.
- Do not mix Humalog with insulin other than NPH when using a syringe. Do not mix or dilute Humalog when used in a pump.
- Inject Humalog under your skin (subcutaneously). Never inject into a vein or muscle. Change (rotate) your injection site with each dose. Make sure you inject the correct insulin and dose.
- Depending on the type of diabetes you have, you may need to take Humalog with a longer-acting insulin or with oral antidiabetic medicines.
- If you forget to take your dose of Humalog, your blood sugar may go too high (hyperglycemia), which can lead to serious problems like loss of consciousness (passing out), coma, or even death.
- Your insulin dose may need to change because of illness, stress, other medicines you take, change in diet, or change in physical activity or exercise.

What are the possible side effects of Humalog?

- Low blood sugar is the most common side effect. There are many causes of low blood sugar, including taking too much Humalog. It is important to treat it quickly. You can treat mild to moderate low blood sugar by drinking or eating a quick source of sugar right away.

If severe low blood sugar can cause unconsciousness (passing out), seizures, and death. Symptoms may be different for each person. Be sure to talk to your healthcare provider about low blood sugar symptoms and treatment.

- Severe life-threatening allergic reactions (whole-body reactions) can happen. Get medical help right away if you develop a rash over your whole body, have trouble breathing, have a fast heartbeat or are sweating.
- Reactions at the injection site (local allergic reaction) such as redness, swelling, and itching can happen. If you keep having skin reactions or they are serious, talk to your healthcare provider. Do not inject insulin into a skin area that is red, swollen, or itchy.
- Skin may thicken or pit at the injection site (lipodystrophy). Do not inject insulin into skin with these types of changes.
- Other side effects include low potassium in your blood (hypokalemia) and weight gain.
- Serious side effects can include:
 - swelling of your hands and feet
 - heart failure when taking certain pills called thiazolidinediones or "TZDs" with Humalog. This may occur in some people even if they have not had heart problem; before. Tell your healthcare provider if you have shortness of breath, swelling of your ankles or feet, or sudden weight gain, which may be symptoms of heart failure. Your healthcare provider may need to adjust or stop your treatment with TZDs or Humalog.
- These are not all of the possible side effects. Ask your healthcare providers for more information or for medical advice about side effects.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store Humalog?

- Unopened Humalog should be stored in a refrigerator and can be used until the expiration date on the carton or label.
- Humalog should be stored away from light and heat. Do not use insulin if it has been frozen.
- Opened vials should be kept at room temperature or in a refrigerator. Opened cartridges or prefilled pens should be kept at room temperature.
- Once opened, Humalog vials, prefilled pens, and cartridges should be thrown away after 28 days.

Humalog is available by prescription only.

For additional information, talk to your healthcare providers and please see Information for Patients on following pages. Please see Instructions for Use that accompany your pen.



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- When used in a pump, do not mix Humalog with any other insulin or liquid. The infusion set should be changed at least every 3 days. The Humalog in the pump reservoir should be changed at least every 7 days even if you have not used all of the Humalog.
- Taking other medicines known as TZDs (thiazolidinediones) with Humalog may cause heart failure. Tell your healthcare provider if you have any new or worse symptoms of heart failure, such as shortness of breath, swelling of your ankles or feet, or sudden weight gain.

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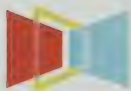
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NATION

Race For the Cure

Obama's second term may
hinge on how fast his health care
reform can recover

BY NANCY GIBBS



A good President

needs a big comfort zone. He should be able to treat enemies as opportunities, appear authentic in joy and grief, stay cool under the hot lights. But humility doesn't come naturally to those who decide they are qualified to run the free world. So the sign that the Obama presidency had reached a turning point came not when his poll numbers sank or his allies shuddered or the commentariat went hunting for the right degree of debacle to compare to the rollout of Obamacare.

It happened when he started apologizing. In triplicate. For not knowing what was going on in his own Administration. For failing to prevent his signature achievement from detonating in prime time. For not telling the whole truth when he promised people that Obamacare would not touch them without permission: "If you like your health care plan, you can keep your health care plan."

Obama's supporters can decry a "feeding frenzy," but this is a critical moment for a President whose agenda for a second term amounted to little more than being not as lame as the other guy. The HealthCare.gov website may or may not get fixed on deadline, the senior staff may be booted and rebooted, but it is already too late to avoid a pageant of media scrutiny, Republican merriment, a rebuke even from Bill Clinton and a host of existential questions: Can this policy be saved? What is left of Obama's second term if it is consumed by fixing an unpopular policy from the first? How could a White House appear so confident and incompetent at the same time? Precious time and political capital had already been spent explaining revelations of spying at home and abroad, a sudden reversal of policy toward Syria, a divisive battle over negotiations with Iran and a rolling budget battle that has slowed the recovery and shaken consumer confidence. Already embattled, the West Wing team failed to prevent or prepare

the President for the health care brawl and instead made multiple public and private assurances that all was on track. That left Obama sounding like a disappointed fan in a bad bleacher seat watching his presidency be pummeled at a distance. "I think we have to ask ourselves some hard questions inside the White House," he admits.

At another time, the national dismay might be less of a concern. But we've reached the point where voters boo whichever party is center stage. Faith in the federal government is at its lowest point ever. When the Republicans diverted the nation's attention with the government shutdown, their approval numbers tanked. Now that the spotlight is on the President and the Democrats, theirs are falling fast; in a Washington Post/ABC News poll, 57% now say they oppose the Affordable Care Act (ACA). Obama's popularity has hit an all-time low as for the first time he faces disapproval not just of his performance but also of his personal credibility. Trust was the lotion that let him pursue policies people didn't necessarily like, because they liked him.

"Everything hangs in the balance," says Brookings Institution senior fellow

'The President has never surrounded himself with people who have deep experience in managing government.'

—ELAINE KAMARCK,
BROOKINGS INSTITUTION



William Galston, a key policy adviser in the Clinton Administration, who argues that Obama cannot change the topic and shouldn't even if he could. "The ACA is the signature achievement of his Administration and one of the biggest promissory notes ever handed the American people. It is not only his moral obligation to deliver on that promise but an absolute political necessity. Nothing else is going to be feasible until he rights the ship. It's just as simple as that."

Broken Promises

THE RITUALS OF PRESIDENTIAL CONTRITION are fixed and formal: confess the sin, express regret, make amends and, if necessary, perform a human sacrifice, preferably on a fairly high-ranking human. In his extraordinary Nov. 14 press conference and in private meetings, Obama has admitted how badly the launch has gone, how ignorant he was of the website problems, how much trouble he has caused fellow Democrats and how little confidence he has that everything will be



Boston support Fans at Faneuil Hall listen to Obama on Oct. 30

working properly soon. He feels bad for the people getting insurance-cancellation notices who can't even go online to see if they qualify for a better policy. His verb of choice is *fumbling*; he fumbled the health care rollout.

But all reforms have winners and losers; throwing people off cheap, no-frills plans is central to making the Affordable Care Act work. This is not a fumble—it's a core feature. Some people will have to buy more coverage than they want or need to offset the older and sicker people who cost insurers more. Everyone in Washington knew this, so the policy's defenders are reduced to arguing that people should have realized Obama was sugarcoating things when he sold the policy as a way to cover a majority of the country's 48 million uninsured without inconveniencing anyone else.

Yet there is policy and there is politics, and the backlash was so fierce among Democrats that Obama had to reverse course, even if his backpedaling was likely to cause further fumbles down the field. He announced that the canceled policies

could be extended for one more year, but that assumes insurers and state regulators go along. Experts warned that his fix could drive premiums up and cost taxpayers more if the government has to reimburse insurers for unexpected losses. State insurance commissioners argued that the President's reversal just added more chaos and complexity to an already complex system. "It's going to make pricing for next year a problem," says Kansas insurance commissioner Sandy Praeger. "When there's uncertainty, plans will take the conservative route and have higher premiums than perhaps they need."

And this may be just the beginning of the damage control. Recent policy cancellations affected a tiny proportion of people compared with those who were reassured by another presidential promise: "If you like your doctor, you will be able to keep your doctor." Obama has dropped that from his script as insurers from Indiana to California cut the number of in-network doctors and hospitals in order to hold premiums down. He also once said the law

wouldn't affect people who get coverage through their employers, but already some workers are losing their coverage or seeing their out-of-pocket expenses rise in the face of policy changes. "There is no doubt that Obamacare is going to cost more for small businesses," says David Hogberg, a senior fellow at the National Center for Public Policy Research. A recent poll by Public Opinion Strategies found that 28% of businesses with 40 to 500 employees plan to drop health care coverage by 2015 because of "sticker shock," Hogberg says. "When you start forcing insurers to cover various benefits, that's inevitably going to increase the costs."

In any given year, there is a huge amount of change and churn in the marketplace; individual policies have typically turned over 70% a year as people discovered just how skimpy they were. Many may find better or cheaper plans if they can eventually penetrate HealthCare.gov. But the problem for the White House is that every change that people don't like will now be blamed on the law, even those that would have happened anyway. Meanwhile, those parts of the law that are working as planned or even better—kids staying on their parents' policies till they are 26, lower rehospitalization rates, the fact that vastly more people are getting insurance than losing it—get lost in the noise. Republicans are free to both denounce the policy and then decry how poorly it's working: "This dangerous assault on personal freedom doesn't even work!" goes the war cry that Republicans will repeat into the 2014 elections.

What Went Wrong?

AS A CANDIDATE, OBAMA DISDAINED the game of politics, a self-conscious contrast to all the tireless political athletes named Clinton. He would rise above the small government-vs.-Big Government debate by rolling out Smart Government, an E-Z Pass lane to the future. He ran more as magician than manager: "I'm not an operating officer," he said during the 2008 primaries. "Some in this debate around experience seem to think the job of the President is to go in and run some bureaucracy. Well, that's not my job. My job is to set a vision of 'Here's where the bureaucracy needs to go.'" To which Hillary Clinton responded, "I think it's important that we have a President who understands that you have to run the government."

At the very least, a President has to run his most important initiative. As recently

as Oct. 1, Obama vowed that shopping for health insurance would be as easy as comparing flights or flat-screen prices online. Then when it wasn't, the Administration explained that the program was just so popular, the site couldn't handle all that enthusiasm. Only too late did it become clear that no one with any experience launching a startup or managing the immensely complex task of integrating systems had ownership of the project. "The President has never surrounded himself with people who have deep experience in managing government, who really know how to make it work," observes Elaine Kamarck, a former Clinton adviser who now leads the Center for Effective Public Management at Brookings. "I don't agree with [James] Baker or Dick Cheney's politics, but they knew how to use the system to get things done. There's been no real equivalent in the Obama Administration."

So how could Obama not have known this? "I was not informed directly that the website would not be working the way it was supposed to," the President finally explained in his press conference. Had he known, he said, "I wouldn't be going out saying, 'Boy, this is going to be great.' I'm accused of a lot of things, but I don't think I'm stupid enough to go around saying this is going to be like shopping on Amazon or Travelocity a week before the website opens if I thought that it wasn't going to work."

But that answer just raised more profound questions. Everyone understands that a project of this size can face technical challenges. But what kind of White House leaves its boss that exposed? And what kind of boss lets that happen? By last summer, people should have been running around the West Wing with their hair on fire. In late March, consultants from



Grilled Sebelius takes responsibility for the debacle

McKinsey & Co. gave senior officials a 14-slide presentation detailing risks in the system, including indecision and a lack of adequate testing; the President was briefed on their recommendations. In April, Senate Finance Committee chairman Max Baucus warned that the Administration wasn't doing enough to explain and promote the new law. "I just tell ya, I just see a huge train wreck coming down," Baucus told Health and Human Services Secretary Kathleen Sebelius. In July, Henry Chao, deputy chief information officer of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, also worried that the website was going to be a disaster. "I just need to feel more confident they are not going to crash the plane at takeoff," he told a colleague in an internal memo. All the while, Obama's top aides said publicly and privately that they had the project in hand, managing it all with daily meetings from the West Wing. The White House's no-drama ethos had insulated Obama and his aides from reality.

Can He Fix It?

THE PRESIDENT SAYS HE'S GOT "ONE more campaign" in him, and that's getting health care reform right. Earlier this year, Obama recruited his campaign opinion-

research guru David Simas as a senior adviser on selling health care reform. Simas understood that of all government policies, those affecting health care are the most personal, to the point where no one really thinks about them as public policy. And so it could not be more different from a presidential campaign. "When people go to vote, they are not making these potentially life-altering decisions about their kid or their mom or their dad or themselves," Simas told *TIME* back in June. "Health care is personal. We are sending them to a place where they have to make a decision to buy something. It's completely—completely—different."

But Simas was confident. "I believe this is an instance where good policy makes great politics, because this is going to be meaningful and tangible to people," he said. "People have been asking, What do I get from Obamacare? Millions of people are about to find out."

And so they have. Democrats admit they're now in a hole; if the midterm elections were held tomorrow, they'd lose. Which is hugely frustrating for them, since the most ambitious parts of the law—the expansion of Medicaid benefits, the end to discrimination against people

'If your contractor at your house screws something up, you tell them to fix it, you don't go hire new contractors.'

—A SENIOR WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL



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Let's
Go
Places



House call Insurance agents help sign up clients in the Sunshine State

with pre-existing conditions, the coverage of adult children—have little to do with the individual-insurance market at the center of the current storm. They note that both the original Medicare law in 1965 and the prescription-drug expansion under George W. Bush had rocky rollouts and that they always assumed the ACA would need to be refined over time. But Republicans in Congress have no interest in revision, only repeal.

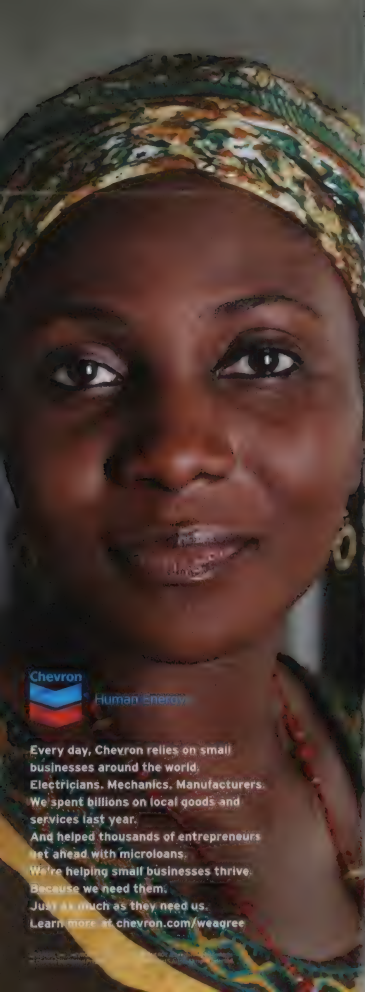
Obama aides insist that the focus right now is on fixing the site rather than assigning blame. "When the website is working better and all of that, the politics are going to be fine," says one senior White House official. "If your contractor at your house screws something up, you tell them to fix it, you don't go hire new contractors. We could do public stoning of the people the political class thought were responsible for this in the middle of the street, and if the website didn't work in two weeks none of that would matter." Meanwhile, Henry Chao was on the Hill explaining to lawmakers that 30% to 40% of the system was still being built.

Some Democrats insist that they have a year to get this right and that they can frame the elections in November 2014 as being about Republicans' continued efforts to undermine the health care law. But that smacks of spin, and the blows could keep on coming: if the website is not fixed by the next deadline, Nov. 30 of this year; if more people find their premiums going up in January; if by March 31, the individual-mandate enrollment deadline, insurers find their risk pools stacked with old, sick people. "Democrats in the midterms are [in trouble] if they don't get their act together and get this running effectively," says one party operative working on 2014 races. "The bigger problem than the substance of the health care debate, which candidates individually should be able to neutralize, is a Democratic Party that seems incompetent, dithering and weak."

But there is a larger problem for the country if Obamacare's ills metastasize. The glee of the law's opponents masks the reality that failure would leave behind: a country that pays too much and gets too little from its health care system, whose costs,

at nearly 18% of GDP, limit America's ability to grow and invest and compete globally. Compared with other developed countries, the U.S. has more uninsured, fewer doctors per capita and lower life expectancies.

And if nothing changes, the other victim may have less to do with debt or disease than national pride and ambition. Obama was elected on a slogan of hope and change because both were in short supply: the military exhausted by two wars, the banks failing their public trust, the U.S. Congress a comedy of dysfunction and a federal government that seemed designed to idle on the sidelines. Obama promised a return to competence and confidence and asked the nation to believe again that the government could do big things well. In the end, he got his big thing, a once-in-a-generation revision to the basic social compact, a commitment of health coverage to nearly all Americans. He has yet to prove he can do it well. —WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ALTMAN, MASSIMO CALABRESI, ZEKE MILLER, JAY NEWTON-SMALL AND ALEX ROGERS/WASHINGTON AND DAVID VON DREHLE/KANSAS CITY ■



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NATION

Is Your Plan In Play?

No matter what promises have been made, employer-provided health plans are changing

BY KATE PICKERT

PETER SANTIAGO IS THE SORT OF AMERICAN President Obama pledged to help with his signature health care law. In 2009, Santiago needed emergency abdominal surgery. Because his coverage had lapsed, the operation left the then 21-year-old saddled with \$118,000 in medical debt that eventually forced him to declare personal bankruptcy. Due to a pre-existing heart condition, Santiago was also unable to buy affordable insurance on the open market. So last year he took a part-time job at Trader Joe's that offered him coverage. "Trader Joe's was a godsend," he says.

Now Santiago's employer has in-

formed him that his insurance may soon be canceled. The Monrovia, Calif.-based grocer announced earlier this year that it would discontinue health coverage for employees who work fewer than 30 hours per week, citing the Affordable Care Act (ACA) as the reason. "I voted for Obama the last two times," says Santiago, a Southern California native. "After thinking Obamacare was going to be something great, it's a huge letdown. The things changing to make Obamacare work are so twisted."

Since the launch of HealthCare.gov on Oct. 1, most of the media focus has been on the website's problems and on people who bought policies individually and may be

facing cancellations. But beyond all that, a more profound disruption looms. Policy experts, economists and employers say work-sponsored health coverage—the foundation of the U.S. private-insurance system—is shifting. A decade from now, if you work for a large corporation, you may find that your weight, blood pressure and how many times you hit the treadmill each week determine how big a bite health care takes out of your salary. If you have insurance through a part-time job or a small business, that coverage could disappear completely. And no matter what you do for a living, you will increasingly be forced to think about health care the way

Photograph by Peter Bohier for TIME

Short on hours,
short on coverage
Peter Santiago
will likely lose his
unemployment
payments year



you might think about getting a new car or television—as an engaged consumer, not a passive beneficiary.

Health benefits have been a defining feature of the U.S. labor market for more than half a century. Some 150 million Americans depend on employers for their health plans, more than are covered by all other insurance systems combined. But job-based insurance has been eroding as health care costs have risen and wages have stagnated. “We’ve seen a fairly continuous decline in employer-sponsored insurance over the past 15 or 20 years,” says MIT professor Jonathan Gruber, who worked as a paid government consultant to help craft the ACA. Administration officials say the law’s new regulations will shore up the employer-based insurance system, but the Congressional Budget Office predicts that by 2018, 7 million fewer people will be covered through work than if the law had never existed in the first place.

Shifts in the employer-based system that had been happening gradually—and often unnoticed by workers year over year—are beginning to accelerate. Home Depot, which offered a limited-liability policy to part-timers, recently announced it will end the plan in 2014. UPS said earlier this year that it would cancel coverage for some employees’ spouses. Petco, Walgreen’s, Sears, IBM and Time Warner, TIME’s parent company, have recently turned to private insurance exchanges in place of traditional company health plans for some active and retired workers.

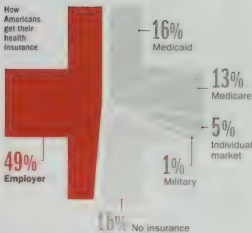
Not all these changes are driven by Obamacare—nothing in the law requires Trader Joe’s to end its coverage for part-time workers, for instance. And yet the law has provided an excuse for some companies to make significant changes to their benefit packages. The ACA’s new regulations and fees could also increase costs for employers and force some to alter health benefits. “Inevitably, as the years roll on, more and more people will be affected by these provisions,” says Paul Ginsburg, an economist with the nonpartisan Center for Studying Health System Change.

For proponents of the law, such changes are a small price to pay for the greater good of insuring tens of millions more Americans and attempting to contain exploding health care spending. “Think of the employer insurance system as a crumbling building,” explains Gruber. “It’s been crumbling over time, and people have been getting thrown off the building with nowhere to go.” The Affordable Care Act,

In Flux: Worker Health Coverage

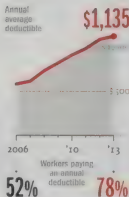
Some 150 million Americans have employer-sponsored health care. They pay more for it each year. Under the Affordable Care Act, benefits could change further—or, in some cases, disappear

How Americans get their health insurance

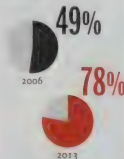


Costs to Date

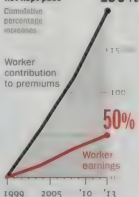
Employees are paying more...



Workers with a co-pay of more than \$20 per primary care doctor visit



...and wages have not kept pace



he argues, is creating a net to catch these people. “But in doing so, a few more people are going to fall off the building.”

Unintended Consequences

IT’S AN ACCIDENT OF HISTORY that so many Americans depend on employers for their health insurance. During World War II, the federal government froze private-sector wages but allowed firms to attract and retain workers by offering fringe benefits, including health insurance. Health coverage and employment have been linked ever since. Job-based coverage reduces employee and employer tax liabilities to the tune of about \$250 billion a year, the largest single exemption in the federal tax code.

The cost of employer-sponsored health coverage has historically grown at a rate far outpacing inflation, in part because of this tax break. But generous workplace

plans have a downside. Economists say they encourage overuse of the health care system and insulate workers from understanding the true costs. Why not go to the doctor at the sign of every sniffle if all it costs is a \$10 co-pay? “Most experts agree that having an unlimited tax break for employer contributions to health plans does not necessarily promote efficiency,” says Jeanne Lambrew, deputy assistant to the President for health policy. The ACA imposes a hefty fee, known as a “Cadillac tax,” on high-priced insurance premiums beginning in 2018. To avoid this tax, some employers are likely to scale back plans by narrowing doctor networks and raising deductibles and co-pays.

Since 2010, health-insurance premiums have grown more slowly, which Administration officials attribute to the ACA. To be sure, some of the law’s provisions—like limits on insurers’ profits—have helped

Under the New Law

In 2018, there will be a projected 7 million fewer Americans covered by their employers. A look at groups affected:



Part-time workers

Approximately 10 million Americans are part-time workers. They are not eligible for employer-sponsored health insurance. The Affordable Care Act requires employers with 50 or more full-time employees to offer health insurance to their full-time workers. Part-time workers are not covered.



Higher earners

High-premium or "Cadillac" plans will now be 40% less expensive. To qualify, 70% of employers are required to provide health insurance. The Affordable Care Act requires employers to offer health insurance to their full-time workers. Higher earners are not covered.

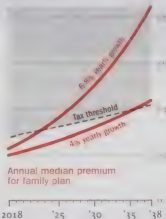


Small-business employees

Firms with fewer than 50 full-time workers don't have to offer insurance. The Affordable Care Act requires employers to offer health insurance to their full-time workers. Small-business employees are not covered.

The Cadillac-plan tax

In 2018, plans with premiums of at least \$10,200 (single) and \$27,500 (family) will trigger a 40% tax. Premium growth has averaged 6.8% since 1998 and 4% since 2010. Many plans are projected to hit the tax.



Sources: Congressional Budget Office, Kaiser Family Foundation, International Foundation of Employee Benefit Plans, Jon Gruber, MIT

curb cost growth. But the U.S. economy has also been stuck in neutral, causing a slowdown in spending of all types. If the economy picks up, so could health care costs. "What is today's Chevy will be tomorrow's Cadillac, just by pure trend," says Tresia Franklin, human-resources director for Hallmark, which provides coverage for some 8,000 employees.

Even if companies don't alter the plans they offer, many are trying to cut costs by launching wellness programs that reward workers for improving their health—or penalize those who don't. Such programs have already become more popular under Obamacare. "If I as an employer am going to offer you benefits, I expect you as an employee to take care of yourself," says Larry Boreiss, president of Midwest Business Group on Health, a nonprofit coalition of large corporations.

A recent survey by Aon Hewitt, a ben-

New employer requirements

\$2,000

Amount employers pay for each full-time employee, minus the first 30, if they don't offer insurance.

30

Hours an employee must work per week to be full-time.

2015

The first year large employers (50 or more full-time employees) could face penalties if they don't offer insurance.

4%

Percentage of large employers that did not offer health insurance in 2012.

efits consulting firm, found that 58% of employers offered monetary and nonmonetary awards in 2012 to employees who made measurable "lifestyle modifications" like quitting smoking, losing weight or better managing cholesterol and blood pressure. Some of the country's large employers, like BP and Toyota, have also recently opened on-site clinics to make access to care easier and to reduce workers' time off the job. Mercer, another benefits consulting firm, reported that 37% of companies with more than 5,000 employees operated on-site clinics in 2012, up from 32% in 2011.

Who's In, Who's Out

THE AFFORDABLE CARE ACT'S STRATEGY to protect the employer health insurance system depends on fining companies that don't provide affordable coverage to workers. But at \$2,000 per employee, the fines are far lower than the cost of providing health insurance and may not be large enough to keep employers in the health-benefits game forever. There's also no penalty for denying coverage to workers like Santiago who log fewer than 30 hours per week on the job. And companies with fewer than 50 workers are exempt altogether. Those who work for businesses with three to 49 employees account for about 20% of all Americans covered by job-sponsored insurance. Coverage for these workers has been eroding even faster.

Cynthia Kay, who owns a communications company in Grand Rapids, Mich., has offered comprehensive health insurance to her seven-person staff since she started the firm 26 years ago. Until a few years ago, she paid the entire premium for each employee health policy. "When I tell people this, they are astounded," says Kay. Offering high-quality coverage at no cost to her workers helped her compete for talent with larger firms, she adds.

But in 2010, when the price of the two plans offered through her small-group policy went up 24% and 19%, she started requiring her employees to help cover the cost. Kay and her employees have paid more every year since. One plan Kay was offered for 2014 by her insurer, Humana, costs 47% more than what she's paying now, primarily because insurers are required under the ACA to set prices irrespective of health. (Kay's employees are younger and healthier than the average small-group pool, so she had been able to pay less for her coverage before the law.) To Kay's relief, Humana has allowed her to avoid Obamacare's regulations for another year through a loophole.

'Think of the employer insurance system as a crumbling building.'

—JONATHAN GRUBER, MIT ECONOMIST AND AN ARCHITECT OF OBAMACARE

"That's going to buy me some time," she says. And after that? "We might have to look at raising employees' salaries and getting out of the business of providing insurance."

Obama aides say this may not be a bad thing. "While the law helps to strengthen employer-based coverage, there are some people for whom employer-based coverage is not the right solution," says Lambrew. The health care law creates new insurance exchanges for individuals, allowing them to buy into stable group coverage previously accessible only through workplace plans. Tax credits to help subsidize coverage are also available to those earning up to about \$46,000 in 2014. (Trader Joe's says 70% of part-time workers affected by its benefit change will pay less for coverage through Obamacare, in part because of the subsidies.) If the technical problems are ironed out, Obamacare could also make it less frightening for American workers to leave large employers to start their own businesses. "The Affordable Care Act completely changed the playing field," says Paul Fronstin, an economist at the Employee Benefit Research Institute. "It provides an alternative to employer-based coverage that never existed before."

How the employer-based system and the exchanges will mesh is unclear. "In the long term, there are going to be frictions between these two systems," says economist Ginsburg. Faced with this uncertainty, some companies have recently turned to insurance marketplaces free of government control. Walgreens said it is moving some 160,000 workers into a private exchange run by Aon Hewitt. The pharmacy chain will provide subsidies to workers that can be used for the purchase of health plans; it joins Sears, which moved employees to Aon Hewitt's exchange last year.

Ken Sperling, the head of private-exchange development for Aon Hewitt, likens employer contributions in private exchanges to "gift cards" and says the marketplaces increase transparency and competition. Says Sperling: "Writing a blank check and letting people access health care wherever and however they want, no matter what the price, is not sustainable."

Touching the Untouchables

ON NOV. 14, OBAMA OFFERED A MORE DETAILED explanation of what he meant when he said Americans could keep their health plans under Obamacare. He said he was not referring to the individual market, where policies have been canceled by the millions this fall. "When I said you can keep your



Small business, big costs Cynthia Kay does not know how long she will be able to afford insurance for her seven employees

health care, you know, I'm looking at folks who've got employer-based health care," he said. "I'm looking at folks who've got Medicare and Medicaid. And that accounts for the vast majority of Americans."

But in the long run, Obama's promise may ring hollow for those with employer-based coverage as well. Obamacare allows workplace insurance that existed before it became law to avoid regulations through a grandfathering provision, but only if such plans remain largely unchanged. "The purpose of the grandfather regulation is to help people keep existing health plans that are working for them," federal officials wrote in a 2010 statement announcing the rule. But according to an analysis by the Kaiser Family Foundation, just 36% of those with workplace health benefits were enrolled in grandfathered plans in 2013. The rest have coverage that will need to comply with new ACA regulations—including 100% coverage for preventive services—beginning in 2014. This could impact the design and cost of job-sponsored plans.

Administration officials have pointed out that after Massachusetts implemented an Obamacare-like version of health reform in 2007, the percentage of employers offering coverage to workers increased. In addition, they say, much of the coverage Americans will lose under the ACA is low-quality insurance that does not protect consumers from financial ruin. Indeed,

the plans Home Depot is canceling offered coverage capped at \$10,000 or \$20,000 per year, far short of what would protect workers from bankruptcy if they faced a serious health problem like cancer. But this was not the case with Trader Joe's. The chain's health plan for part-time workers was traditional coverage similar to that offered by midsized and large firms to full-time workers nationwide. "It's the best of the best," says Santiago. "That's why it really hurts now."

Santiago is devastated that he may lose his coverage next year. He has looked at plans for sale through California's new insurance exchange but says he can't find an affordable plan with a network that includes his heart doctors. He also says the deductibles are too high. Trader Joe's has said it will give part-time employees working at least 15 hours a week \$500 to help pay for a new individual plan. "What is the \$500 going to do for me," he asks, "if my deductible is five grand?"

For now, Santiago is focused on getting his weekly hours above the new 30-hour minimum needed for coverage under the ACA. He says he tries to show up ahead of time for his shifts, hoping to clock in early, and calls his store on his days off asking managers if they can use extra help. But time is running out. Trader Joe's will begin its new coverage-eligibility system in January. Says Santiago: "The last I heard, 27.81 hours was my average."

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- unexpected bleeding, or bleeding that lasts a long time, such as:
 - unusual bleeding from the gums
 - nosebleeds that happen often
 - menstrual bleeding or vaginal bleeding that is heavier than normal
- bleeding that is severe or you cannot control
- red, pink, or brown urine
- red or black stools (looks like tar)
- cough up blood or blood clots

- vomit blood or your vomit looks like coffee grounds
- unexpected pain, swelling, or joint pain
- headaches, feeling dizzy or weak

ELIQUIS (apixaban) is not for patients with artificial heart valves.

What is ELIQUIS?

ELIQUIS is a prescription medicine used to reduce the risk of stroke and blood clots in people who have atrial fibrillation.

It is not known if ELIQUIS is safe and effective in children.

Who should not take ELIQUIS?

Do not take ELIQUIS if you:

- currently have certain types of abnormal bleeding
- have had a serious allergic reaction to ELIQUIS. Ask your doctor if you are not sure

What should I tell my doctor before taking ELIQUIS?

Before you take ELIQUIS, tell your doctor if you:

- have kidney or liver problems
- have any other medical condition
- have ever had bleeding problems
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if ELIQUIS will harm your unborn baby
- are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if ELIQUIS passes into your breast milk. You and your doctor should decide if you will take ELIQUIS or breastfeed. You should not do both

Tell all of your doctors and dentists that you are taking ELIQUIS. They should talk to the doctor who prescribed ELIQUIS for you, before you have any surgery, medical or dental procedure.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Some of your other medicines may affect the way ELIQUIS works. Certain medicines may increase your risk of bleeding or stroke when taken with ELIQUIS.

How should I take ELIQUIS (apixaban)?

Take ELIQUIS exactly as prescribed by your doctor. Take ELIQUIS twice every day with or without food, and do not change your dose or stop taking it unless your doctor tells you to. If you miss a dose of ELIQUIS, take it as soon as you remember, and do not take more than one dose at the same time. **Do not run out of ELIQUIS. Refill your prescription before you run out. Stopping ELIQUIS may increase your risk of having a stroke.**

What are the possible side effects of ELIQUIS?

- See "What is the most important information I should know about ELIQUIS?"
- ELIQUIS can cause a skin rash or severe allergic reaction. Call your doctor or get medical help right away if you have any of the following symptoms:
 - chest pain or tightness
 - swelling of your face or tongue
 - trouble breathing or wheezing
 - feeling dizzy or faint

Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all of the possible side effects of ELIQUIS. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

This is a brief summary of the most important information about ELIQUIS. For more information, talk with your doctor or pharmacist, call 1-855-ELIQUIS (1-855-354-7847), or go to www.ELIQUIS.com.

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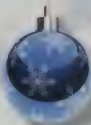
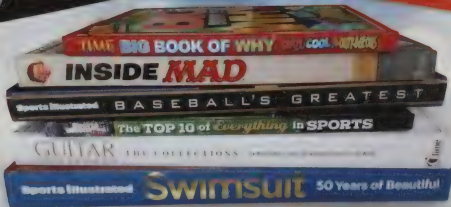
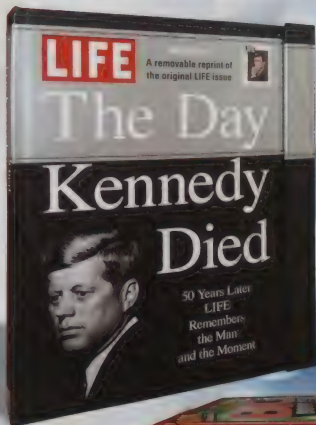
This independent, non-profit organization provides assistance to qualifying patients with financial hardship who generally have no prescription insurance. Contact 1-800-736-0003 or visit www.bmspa.org for more information.

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WHY CHINA NEEDS MORE CHILDREN

AFTER DECADES OF THE ONE-CHILD POLICY,

BEIJING WANTS ITS PEOPLE TO HAVE MORE

KIDS. IT MAY BE TOO LATE FOR THAT

BY HANNAH BEECH/JIUQUAN





On his own Five-year-old Li Xing plays by himself during a school break in the town of Jiuquan, in western Gansu province.

Photograph by Sim Chi Yin for TIME

IT HAS BEEN A LONG TIME SINCE LIU Jinghu and his wife enjoyed a weekend to themselves. Saturdays and Sundays in smoggy Beijing are dedicated to their only child, 2-year-old son Xiaojing: there are early childhood exercise classes, singing sessions with other families and Lego-building sprees in a living room scattered with toys. Looming in their minds is the specter of expensive tutoring to get their toddler into a good school and, further into the future,

the pressure to buy their son an apartment so he can persuade a woman to marry him. That property burden could cost Liu, a software-development manager, and his wife, a human-resources specialist, two decades' worth of salary. Such are the costs of raising a kid today in middle-class China.

Liu and his wife were themselves only children in a nation teeming with singletons because of China's one-child policy, which was unveiled in 1979 as a quick fix for a poor, populous society. The couple's lack of siblings means they are legally allowed to have two children. But Liu says he doesn't have the time, money or mental strength for another kid. "We don't want to spend our lives working just [for our child]," he says. "We want more from life than that."

The world's most populous nation, 1.35 billion strong, will soon have too few people—or, rather, too few of the right kind of people. That's because more than three decades of government-mandated family planning, often called the one-child policy, have succeeded beyond the architects' grandest dreams. Add to that the natural inclination of richer, more educated people like Liu and his wife to limit their family size, and China's population growth is projected to taper off in 15 years.

That would leave the People's Republic with a distorted population: too few youths, too few women and too many elderly. Writing in the *Population and Development Review*, a peer-reviewed journal published by the Population Council in New York City, three top Chinese demographers predict that "the one-child policy will be added to the other deadly errors in recent Chinese history," alongside the turbulent 1966–76 Cultural Revolution and a devastating man-made famine in 1959–61. "While those grave mistakes both cost tens of millions of lives, the harms done were relatively short-lived and were corrected

quickly afterward. The one-child policy, in contrast, will surpass them in impact."

Ironically, the one-child policy now threatens to undermine the very economic success it helped spawn. The family-planning program, coupled with market reforms launched around the same time, is credited with catalyzing China's modern transformation. With fewer bellies to feed, the government turned a hand-to-mouth society into the world's second largest economy. Although many families, especially those in the countryside, are exempted from the one-child maximum, Chinese women bear, on average, about 1.5 children, compared with about 6 in the late 1960s. (For a nation to maintain its population, it needs a total fertility rate of at least 2.1 babies per woman.) By 2030, China's population is expected to peak at just short of 1.4 billion and then begin a long decline.

In implementing the largest social-engineering experiment in human history, the People's Republic has merely traded one population time bomb for another. China now faces a multitude of social woes usually seen in more developed economies better equipped to handle these challenges. It is growing old before it grows rich—bringing about an explosion of elderly Chinese even as the government has presided over a fraying of the nation's socialist safety net.

Last year the working-age population shrank for the first time, a huge concern for a leadership that depends on plentiful labor to deliver economic growth—which is in turn needed to quell social instability. By limiting urban families to one child while allowing some rural ones to bear two, China has skewed its population against the type of citizen it needs in order to climb into the ranks of developed countries. Then there are the some 25 million extra males, a result of tradition-bound parents ensuring that their offspring quota is filled by a son. "I don't think the one-child policy was worth it," says Mu Guangzong, a population expert at Peking University. "The people who made the policy never imagined all the problems we're facing right now. Their knowledge of demography was shallow. Now society has to pay heavily for their ignorance."

After years of dawdling, China's leaders are trying to forestall the looming crisis. On Nov. 15 state media announced that President Xi Jinping had signed off on what days earlier was characterized as a "fine-tuning"

of the family-planning policy: couples in which one partner is a single child would be allowed to have two offspring. By some estimates, the policy shift could add 1 million babies to maternity wards each year.

The Problems of Paucity

BUT IT MAY BE TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE FOR A nation whose population problems have already spawned serious social dilemmas. "We don't need adjustments to the family-planning policy," says Gu Baochang, a demographer at People's University in Beijing. "What we need is a phaseout of the whole system." But will that really happen? Just a day after the one-child-policy reform was announced, Wang Pei'an, Vice Minister of the powerful National Health and Family Planning Commission, ruled out further changes, although another official sounded less pessimistic days later. Clearly, debate continues on when the deeply unpopular policy might be abolished.

But keeping the one-child policy going, even with some of its rules relaxed, could have a huge, harmful impact on the economy. According to economists at Citigroup, the following consequences of China's social engineering could shave 3.25 percentage points off the nation's yearly growth rate through 2030.

TOO FEW WORKERS During its decades of double-digit growth, China's competitive advantage came from its huge workforce. Today the country's labor pool is shrinking, and wages are soaring. For years, Wang Jinshi could depend on a constant supply of rural Chinese to make shoes at his factory in southern Foshan city. No more. Worse, the future supply of factory workers is imperiled. Last year, 13,600 Chinese elementary schools closed for lack of students. "The economic cycle is broken," says Wang,

who constantly hustles to find workers. He now pays wages that are 35% higher than five years ago—and still his workers often leave after a few months because of better offers from other employers.

TOO FEW YOUTHS By 2050, 1 in 3 Chinese will be older than 60—a 430 million-strong cohort bigger than the entire population of the U.S. In developed nations like Japan, the elderly explosion is a huge problem. But Japan is far richer than China, and its elderly can expect subsidized, high-quality medical services and caregiving. China, by contrast, has shattered its "iron rice bowl," the socialist term for cradle-to-grave government support. That leaves each single child potentially responsible for six old people—one set of parents and two sets of grandparents—a trend in China that is called "4-2-1." Providing for the elderly is even harder now that hundreds of millions of Chinese are mobile, leaving the farms where the elderly live to work in cities where the jobs are.

TOO FEW WOMEN At the middle school in Fancheng, a quiet community in central China's Henan province, teacher Yin Le's seventh-grade class has 27 boys and 13 girls. As in other parts of rural China, residents are allowed to have a second child after a few years' wait, if the first baby is female or handicapped. Chinese tradition values boys over girls because sons carry on the family line. Through illegal yet common ultrasounds and sex-selective abortions—plus the occasional case of female infanticide and abandonment—parents have skewed the gender ratio so heavily that in some rural areas, 135 boys are born for every 100 girls. "What shall these boys do in the future?" says Yin. "How can they find a wife if there are not enough girls?"

Chinese men who find no mate to extend their family trees are called bare branches. Their mounting frustration terrifies the Communist Party; young, unattached men are the perfect protest demographic. And they have much more to protest than the scarcity of single women. For instance, they wonder why they graduate from college in record numbers yet cannot find decent white collar jobs because China's economy is still addicted to a labor-intensive model. They worry, too, about real estate. One of the reasons property markets in big cities are so inflated is that young men think that buying a home is the best

BECAUSE OF THE
ONE-CHILD POLICY,
CHINA'S POPULATION
HAS TOO FEW YOUTHS
AND WOMEN AND TOO
MANY ELDERLY

way to lure a potential wife. Starter apartments in Beijing now go for some 30 times a young worker's average annual income.

The Policy Worked—Too Well

THE SOCIAL ENGINEERS WHO DESIGNED the one-child policy never intended for it to hold for more than a generation. Even they referred to their experiment as temporary and laced the system with loopholes. In the cities, which even three decades ago seemed unmanageably bloated, many families were generally limited to a single child. But the rules were looser for farming communities: the countryside had more space, and agriculture needed more hands. As in the case of Liu and his wife, couples in which both parents were only children could have two kids. And ethnic minorities were allowed multiple children.

Still, local officials, whose promotions depended on keeping population figures low, enforced the rules with chilling zeal, resorting to compulsory sterilizations and abortions—even on women just days from delivery. Women in many rural areas are still required to undergo gynecological checkups four times a year to ensure they are not pregnant. Local governments have also milked the system by collecting “social-support fees,” as payments for illegal extra births are known. The fines are set locally and are often calculated at several times a person's annual income. Demographer He Yafu estimates conservatively that \$330 billion in such fees have been levied since the one-child policy began.

Government statisticians claim that 400 million fewer Chinese were born because of the policy. Most demographers say other factors contributed to the slowing population growth: as people become wealthier and more educated, they tend to have fewer kids. But there's no doubt that Beijing's family-planning bureaucracy has been brutally effective. Since the policy was instituted, there have been at least 335 million government-approved abortions, 200 million sterilizations and an unknowable number of medical checkups to prevent pregnancies among women who had already filled their quotas.

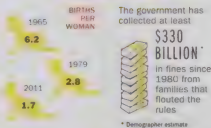
Chinese conventional wisdom is that the results justified the draconian measures: policing the nation's wombs helped China dramatically raise living standards. Per capita GDP is now \$6,000, compared with less than \$200 in 1980. China has pulled hundreds of millions of people out



PRICE OF SUCCESS

To combat poverty and overpopulation, China unveiled a one-child policy for many citizens in 1979. But the program has spawned social problems

BABY BUST



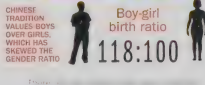
AGE SHIFT

In 2025, China will have more adults over 64 than children under 15

88.7%

of the elderly who require assistance with daily activities today receive it from family members

GENDER DISPARITY



By 2020, 30 MILLION

men of marriageable age may be unable to find a spouse

OTHER CONSEQUENCES

Crime rates, bride trafficking and sexual violence are rising

The gender imbalance may fuel social unrest. In 2010, China was rocked by 180,000 protests, riots and other mass incidents—roughly double the tally from five years earlier

of poverty since the one-child policy began. “The consensus for a long time in China has been that fewer people is good because that puts less pressure on the economy and environment,” says Lu Jiehua, a social demographer at Peking University. “It’s hard for leaders to go against decades of wisdom.”

But it's one thing to force people to have fewer children and quite another to make them have more. Relaxing the rules likely won't fix all the population imbalances. The precise group that China's leaders want to see increase its family size—the urban, educated middle class—hasn't shown much interest in doing so. “Because my wife and I grew up as only children, we don't see the need for big families,” says Liu, the software manager. “I guess we've gotten used to a society of only children.”

Inconvenient Truths

YET CHINA CONTINUES TO PROMOTE THE one-child policy as something other developing countries should emulate. Beijing acts as the wise older brother, dispensing advice to Asians, Africans and Latin Americans who wish to help their homelands replicate China's economic trajectory. Visiting delegations of social scientists rarely hear of the policy's more problematic consequences. Says demographer Gu: “I try to tell the foreigners I meet, ‘No, don't do what we did.’”

If all these delegations really wanted to learn from China, they'd do well to consult the statistics from the windswept region of Jiuanqun, near the westernmost reaches of the Great Wall. Residents there have long been able to freely have two kids. Yet even without forced abortions and the mortifying tracking of women's menstrual cycles by government workers, Jiuanqun's fertility rate is lower than the national average. You Shengguo, a 42-year-old villager, explains why he had no wish to expand his family beyond his only daughter. “It's better to raise one child well than have lots whom you can't care for properly,” he says.

Equally significant, the gender disparity that plagues other parts of China doesn't exist in Jiuanqun. At the Dingjiaba primary school, for instance, there are more girls than boys. Nature, it turns out, is better at regulating human demography than any Communist Party apparatus. After more than three decades of misguided family planning, that should be China's lesson to the world. —WITH REPORTING BY GU YONGQIANG/BEIJING AND CHENGCHENG JIANG/JIUQUAN


Sources: China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study; Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Congressional Executive Commission on China; Institute for the Study of Labour; United Nations; World Bank; World Factbook; Sun Liping; Tsinghua University

WHAT

BOYS

WANT





An entire generation of parents has spent years panicking about the effects of hookup culture on girls—making it all too easy to ignore the emotional lives of boys. But it's boys who often lack the skills to adapt. And it's boys who are falling behind

BY ROSALIND WISEMAN

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IGHTEEN-YEAR-OLD DRE GAMBrell doesn't look like the sentimental type. A defensive tackle at Potomac Falls High, he's a big athlete at a big, diverse 1,600-student school in Northern Virginia. A guy like Dre doesn't have to look

too hard for a date, but not long ago he fell for a girl who wasn't in his usual universe—a pretty girl, a friend of a friend from another school. He tried to get to know her, but their conversations stalled. So Dre thought he'd do something creative to impress her: "I went on Instagram and took some of her pictures and made a cute little collage and told her I was going to make it my phone wallpaper so I could have something to think about her every day." Her reaction was not what he expected. It was something along the lines of "Ewww... That's creepy as hell. Why would you do that?" Dre backed off, but now every time he happens to see her, she still makes fun of the collage.

Dre is complicated. While he's capable of romantic gestures and feeling the sting of rejection, he's also capable of sophisticated manipulation. Sometimes, as he explains it, he'll ask girls to send him pictures of themselves partly undressed, and not for the reason one might expect. "If the girl lies a lot, goes around saying she doesn't like me... I'll have that picture of her," he says. In an environment where looking as if you've been rejected in front of your friends is tough to stomach, the images are insurance. Sometimes, Dre says, he'll ask for a picture just to see if a girl will send it.

Such is the code of Boy World—a place where the rules of courtship shift by the hour and the Internet can accelerate any teen impulse to the speed of light. As an entire generation of parents panics about hookup culture and its effect on their daughters, it's easy to write off the emotional lives of boys. (Even the word *hookup* is fraught with ambiguity; it can refer to any kind of physical intimacy ranging from kissing to intercourse, though among high school kids it's less likely to be the latter.) Boys often wind up portrayed as either opportunistic perpetrators or the worst sexual behaviors or thoughtless beneficiaries of an era in which boys get sex and girls get hurt.

But is that really what boys want?

As the mother of two boys who's worked with teens for more than 20 years—and having previously written a book about girls' interior lives and social dynamics—I wanted to delve deeper. So I spent two years researching my new book to better understand boys and the challenges they face. I explored the latest research, talking to experts and examining studies in fields ranging from psychology to the neuroscience of



81%

Percentage of suicides in the 10- to 24 age group that were males, vs. 19% females, despite the fact that more girls report being depressed

43%

Percentage of college students who are male, down from 58% in 1970

how boys' brains are wired. I also worked with and interviewed pediatricians, occupational therapists and learning specialists. But—most critically—I conducted detailed ongoing conversations with hundreds of boys and young men across the U.S. (Straight and gay boys participated. I saw their issues as intertwined, and I focused on how homophobia and the performance aspect of masculinity affect both straight and gay boys.) This cross section of teens I spoke with came from places as varied as elite East Coast academies and New Orleans charter schools, working class towns in the Midwest and upper-middle-class Southern California suburbs. What I found was striking.

First, to get it out of the way: of course boys want sex, and they spend a lot of time thinking about it. (Let's remember: so do girls.) More surprisingly, though, I found that teen boys face many of the same challenges and are longing for many of the same things as girls: they fall in love easily, get their hearts broken and have very mixed feelings about the hypersexualized culture in which they live; they hunger to be more open about their feelings, both with their families and with their male friends, though they exist in a culture that discourages such emotional openness; and they desperately want to maintain their social position among their gay friends, regardless of the cost to them or others.

While some of these problems are eternal, the landscape for boys has been changing in significant ways. A culture of sexual liberation and empowerment for girls and young women has left boys (and

Wiseman is the author of Masterminds and Wingmen (Harmony Books, 2013) as well as Queen Bees & Wannabes (Harmony Books, 2002)



their parents) largely at sea. The rise of digital communication has opened up new ways for boys to express themselves to girls, with a scary and complicated lack of established rules. And the very idea of hookup culture (whether or not teen sexual behavior has really changed all that much in recent decades) has altered how boys see their female peers. As many boys are left to process these cultural changes on their own, lacking many of the communication skills girls have in spades, they appear to be paying the price for this deficit in elevated rates of depression and falling levels of academic achievement.

What's Changed—and What Hasn't

LOOKING AT THE DATA ON ADOLESCENTS AND RELATIONSHIPS, it's surprising how much overlap there is between boys and girls—and how little things have changed in the past few decades on key issues like when most teens lose their virginity.

According to the Guttmacher Institute, a nonprofit that promotes reproductive health and rights, only 16% of teens have had sex by age 15, and there is little difference between the genders in the age of first intercourse. In 2012 the birth rate among teens dropped to the lowest level in the 73 years the government has been collecting these data, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). It's now less than half what it was in 1991. Among students in grades 9 through 12 nationwide, the percentage who say they've ever had sexual intercourse actually decreased from 1991 to 2011, to 47.4% from 54.1%.

6

ON PARENTS

I have a little sister who is 15, and they will pay a lot more attention to her feelings because when a girl is sad she's not afraid to show it. And boys, when the moment comes to say something, they don't own it, they don't know how.

—SEBASTIAN LUNA (LEFT), 19, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

9

ON BETRAYAL BY A FRIEND

'WE NEVER REALLY SAT DOWN AND TALKED ABOUT IT. EVERY ONCE IN A WHILE, IT GETS BROUGHT UP. BUT I JUST LET IT GO. I KEEP HIM AWAY FROM CERTAIN STUFF.'

—ORE GAMBRELL, 18, NORTHERN VIRGINIA

Despite our culture's recent focus on girls and their self-esteem, it's actually boys whose emotional and academic lives have been suffering. A working paper this summer from the National Bureau of Economic Research found that from the 1980s to the 2000s, the mode (that is, statistically, the value that appeared most often) of girls' high school GPA distribution shifted from B to A, essentially leaving boys behind, as the mode of boys' GPA distribution stayed at B. College enrollment has followed the same pattern. Whereas 58% of college students in 1970 were men, by 2010, 57% of college students were women, according to a recent study by Harvard's Graduate School of Education. The same study found that women are now also more likely than men to earn college degrees and to enroll in graduate school, making up 60% of grad students.

Girls are more likely to report attempting or contemplating suicide—but boys are much more likely to die from suicide. For every 100 girls in the 15-to-19 age group who commit suicide, 394 boys in the same range kill themselves, according to the CDC. High school is when the suicide rate for boys spikes to four times the rate for girls, whereas in early adolescence it is three times the rate for girls. That gender gap has been consistent since 1991. Mental health experts have long wrestled with the question of how to narrow that gap and improve suicide prevention for boys and men, but because they are less likely to report depression, it's more difficult to help them.

"As boys enter manhood, they do, in fact, begin to talk less," says Niobe Way, a professor of applied psychology at NYU and the author of *Deep Secrets: Boys' Friendships and the Crisis of Connection*. Her research has shown a big decline in the use of words related to positive emotions and an increase in feelings of isolation among boys after age 15. And that isolation can lead to depression. The more boys reported not sharing their feelings with their friends and the more they reported figuring things out on their own, her research has found, the higher their scores were on depressive symptoms such as feelings of worthlessness and loss of interest in normal activities.

When the Advice Is Just Bad

CLEARLY, GIRLS AREN'T THE ONLY ONES STRUGGLING with modern adolescence—but at least most girls have developed the vocabulary to talk about the connection between sex and relationships, and they usually have an adult who believes it's critical to their health and safety to have those conversations. Many boys don't have that. Often, all they get are stern warnings based on the assumption that their overpowering sex drive makes them thoughtless or irresponsible.

"Well, they say things like 'Try to think with your other head. The bigger one,'" Ian Davis, 19, told me at a group discussion I held in a classroom at his

high school in a small town east of Columbus, Ohio. "When I'm walking out the door," another boy told me, "without fail, my mother will say, 'Don't bring me back any grandbabies.'"

Treating boys as emotionally illiterate has costs. It shames them into hiding how much they want meaningful connections in their intimate relationships and leaves them unprepared to process their feelings—or convinces them they can't go to anyone for support when they're in pain. I met Sebastian Luna, 19, at his small high school in Southern California. A good-looking, well-liked kid, Sebastian says he thinks guys are more prone than girls to fall in love in high school because, as he puts it, they don't think so much about it. It just happens to them.

The first time Sebastian said, "I love you," it was to a girl he was dating whom he describes as stunningly beautiful. "She had a great personality, really fun, and I was head over heels. She was all I thought about for months," Sebastian told me. "My parents said, 'If only you could treat school with that same attention.'"

Then he started hearing rumors that she was cheating on him. Friends told him they'd seen her with someone else at a party. "I texted her and said, 'I'm coming over,'" he recalls. "Then she confessed." "But the thing is, I was infatuated with her," Sebastian says. "I didn't want to lose her. I cried. I stayed up all night. Then in the morning, I realized I couldn't do it." He broke up with the girl the next day and never spoke to her again.

In all this turmoil, he never even considered going to his parents for advice after the breakup. "My parents are amazing," Sebastian says. "But they're not really concerned about me unless I'm really depressed... I have a little sister who is 15, and they will pay a lot more attention to her feelings, because when a girl is sad she's not afraid to show it. And boys, when the moment comes to say something, they don't even know how."

Sebastian was devastated by the breakup. He says he felt as if he "lost his world" for a while. "My grades themselves dropped hard—very hard. I simply didn't care. Which was very uncharacteristic of me, considering it was my junior year, the most important time for college applications," he recalls. "As cliché as it sounds, this girl and what she had done to me literally consumed my thoughts."

Yet this kid, who clearly has the capacity for deep emotion, felt he had nowhere to turn after getting his heart broken. What's more, this same boy—a guy comfortable talking about being in love and having his heart broken—says he's arranged hookups with girls (ones he doesn't even know) on Facebook.

Digital Dalliances

FACEBOOK, TWITTER, SNAPCHAT, SEXING—EACH successive technology can introduce a new set of practical and emotional challenges for boys as well as girls. And while boys are often cast as thoughtless

A GUIDE TO BOY WORLD

THE SEVEN BOY ARCHETYPES AND THEIR SOCIAL ORBITS



A BOY BREAKDOWN

AT MOST SCHOOLS, SOCIAL GROUPS BREAK DOWN ROUGHLY ALONG THESE LINES

THE 10-PERCENTERS

Fill traditional models of masculinity (good at sports, popular with girls) and obsess over maintaining social status

THE MAJORITY

Not as concerned with social status unless they make an attempt to break into the top 10%

5%

THE ORBITERS

Float on the periphery of everyone else's groups for a variety of reasons

75%

THE BOTTOM RUNG

Made up of boys who don't fit in for various reasons—though they have strong friendships among themselves

Adapted from *Masterminds and Wingmen*, by Rosalind Wiseman

UNITED



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slobs in this arena—tossing off offensive sexts to girls as a clumsy way of flirting or passing around girls' pics that were supposed to be private—their thoughts and perceptions on the topic are more acute and subtle than one might think.

First off, if you think boys don't obsess over this stuff the way girls do, well, you'd be wrong.

"You can tell what she wants pretty much by how she texts," Dre tells me. "The dry 'Hey' is O.K. But then there's some that have the 'Heyyy' with the extra y's and the winky face [emoticon], and that means this conversation could possibly go somewhere. They're probably the hooking-up type."

Ian, who came out as gay during his sophomore year in high school, also says emoticons play a key role in sussing out a crush's potential feelings. "When I see a smiley face, it's the opening of the doorway to emotions," he says. "That first emoticon is significant. When it comes, it means something."

Brian Tian-Street, 19, whom I met at the magnet school he attended in Maryland, told me over e-mail about how he and a friend tag-teamed communication with a girl the friend had met at a dance. "He kind of wanted to continue it and thought it was easiest to bring it up via text," said Brian, who is now a sophomore at Yale. "What followed was me helping him phrase text messages letter by letter... We discussed whether to use '...' in certain places, what to capitalize and what to not, emoticons and their placement... Every detail was discussed, such as the time between responses. Wait at least a few minutes between responses, so as not to appear clingy or desperate." A character from *Girls* could hardly do a better job of picking apart linguistic minutiae.

Of course, all this technology has its explicit side—which is typically where boys get into trouble, though it's not always boys acting as the aggressors. One mother told me the story of her son's being sent explicit pictures from a girl at school, in various stages of nudity. The images came with the message "You are special, and no one else gets to see this," the mother said. "My son eventually discovered that it had been sent to all her 'special' ones, numbering about a handful."

For boys, getting sexy images from a girl, solicited or not, raises their social status. "It's a big ego boost," says Ethan Anderson, a 17-year-old from Boulder, Colo. Girls send pictures for lots of reasons: to get attention, in response to requests from a boy or to compete with other girls. But the boys don't always know what to think. "I've gotten probably like four unwanted pictures... just desperate girls who are looking for a good time with everyone," says Winston Robinson, an 18-year-old who is starting his first year at Drexel University this fall. "It's awkward, especially if you didn't ask for it. When it happens, I delete it, so the parents don't try to screw you over if they find it."

"You have to use Snapchat. It's the condom of

sexting," says Ethan, referring to the popular app that lets users send photos that disappear after a brief viewing period. But even digital condoms break, it seems: new apps let people save Snapchats.

Lost in Translation

TEENS MAY NOT BE HAVING SEX ALL THAT MUCH earlier than previous generations were, but their culture is far more saturated with sexual language and imagery. And while discussions of sex and hookups are constant, both genders still struggle to communicate what they want or don't want. "Sex is a sport to my generation. For girls too," says Ricky Coston, a soft-spoken 20-year-old from New Orleans. "I have friends who just want to have sex with me, but it's nothing real." Ricky describes the daily speculation at the charter high school he attended about who'd "gotten with" whom. It's a culture he clearly finds exhausting and confusing.

Ricky, who is a church youth leader and was homecoming king in junior and senior year of high school, told me a story about a moment when he felt caught between his sexual desires and the expectations for guys when it comes to sex. A girl offered to give him oral sex, and rather than feeling triumphant, he felt conflicted. "I never told her I didn't like her. At the point leading up to it, I could have walked out," he said. And even though it's easy to assume he said yes simply because he wanted sex, there were multiple factors at play in his decision. He didn't want to hurt her feelings, he said, and he worried that if he rejected her, she would get angry. The guilt came later: "I wanted it, but it felt bad at the same time... I felt like a man-whore, and I really regret treating her like that."

Developmental psychologist Andrew Smiler has spent decades studying masculinity and adolescents. "We've been teaching girls for two generations to be in charge of their own sexuality, their desires," Smiler says. "But we're still teaching boys the same things we did 20 years ago... that they are supposed to be the pursuers. But the world has changed around them."

What's more, recent research shows that boys get every bit as emotionally invested in adolescent relationships as girls do—the main difference being that boys feel far less in control of how those relationships progress. A 2006 study from Bowling Green University included interviews with more than 1,300 adolescents. The researchers found that boys report significantly lower levels of confidence compared with girls in navigating their romantic relationships. Yet they had the same levels of emotional engagement as girls. What's more, the boys felt their romantic partners had greater power and influence in their relationships.


Brian, an 18-year-old American who attends high school abroad (and who doesn't want his last name used), told me about a girl he "really liked" at his school. "I thought she liked me back," he



ON SEXTING

I've gotten
probably like
four unwanted
pictures...
just desperate
girls who are
looking for
a good time
with everyone.
It's awkward,
especially if
you didn't ask
for it. When
it happens, I
delete it, so the
parents don't
try to screw
you over if
they find it.

WINSTON ROBINSON,
18, SOUTHERN
CALIFORNIA



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said. "We had hooked up a couple of times, and I believed we were moving forward ... until I saw her making out with another guy at a party, and it broke my heart." Brian, like so many other boys I talked to, took betrayal quite hard. "I talked to her afterward, and she acted as though what we had was nothing, I felt used," he said. "It was horrible, especially since the guy she made out with was a friend of mine."

The Bro Code

BOYS' FRIENDSHIPS MAY NOT SEEM THAT COMPLICATED. Asked about their inner circle, they'll tell you things like "I'll do anything for a friend." Some will respond with declarations of the "bro code" or "bros before hos."

But within these friendships, there are often moments of deep betrayal and manipulation. Boys' relationships look quite different from those of girls. Whereas girls actively compete and jockey with others for social supremacy, boys' roles are much more stable. These roles often get set as early as grade school and don't change much through high school. It's not that boys' social structures aren't hierarchical; it's that boys are much more resigned to their place in the hierarchy. Thus, they form very deep bonds with other boys at their social level, and they spend a great deal of time trying to avoid conflict.

Even something as juvenile-seeming as dibs (that is, one boy calling dibs on hooking up with a girl, as if she were a choice seat on the bus) has a very specific function in male friendships—namely, avoiding conflict—and is subject to an elaborate set of rules that is remarkably consistent among boys of all backgrounds. (You have to make it recognized that you liked a girl first to call dibs, you can't call dibs if you have no chance with the girl, you can't call dibs just to annoy your friend, etc.)

When these bro-code rules are violated, boys often lack the social permission or skills to talk about it with one another. Dre tells a story of how a good friend of his hooked up with a girl Dre had recently broken up with. According to the code, that girl should have been off-limits. "I went to him, and I didn't say anything," Dre says. "I just started swinging, but I stopped because I shouldn't be fighting him, because he's like a brother to me."

The relationship with his friend, however, never fully recovered. "We never really sat down and talked about it," Dre says. "Every once in a while, it gets brought up, but I just let it go." And even though he says they're still close, there are now limits to their friendship. "I keep him away from certain stuff... Every time I tell him about someone, he says the same thing: 'Oh, she's a goer [promiscuous], which means he'd hook up with her.'" Dre says. "I don't want to be like, 'I have feelings for her.'"

Expressing any feelings about girls can be tricky between boys. During one of my interviews, Brian (the boy who goes to school abroad) told me about a



ON THE MEDIA
'I SEE GLORY SHOTS
OF FRATERNITY
BOYS PARTYING
WITH BEAUTIFUL
GIRLS IN TANK TOPS
OR POLOS, WITH
KHAKIS AND SPERRY
TOP-SIDERS. EACH
IS TALL, EACH IS
MUSCULAR, AND
ALL LOOK VERY
PUT TOGETHER.
HOW CAN ONE
SEE SOMETHING
LIKE THIS AND NOT
BE COMPLETELY
INFATUATED WITH
THE LIFESTYLE?'

—RAFFAELE SAPOSHNIK
(RIGHT), 18,
SAN CLEMENTE, CALIF.



ON ORAL SEX
'I wanted it,
but it felt bad
at the same
time. I felt like
a man-whore,
and I really
regret treating
her like that.'

—RICKY COSTON, 20,
NEW ORLEANS

girl he really liked and with whom he'd hooked up just that weekend. "At first, I didn't tell my friends," he said. "As soon as word spread, all I heard for the next three days were nasty sexual remarks." In fact, it's not uncommon for boys to relentlessly trash-talk a girl they know one of their friends likes—saying she's "nasty" or even that she has an STD. But then the same boys might go off and pursue the girl themselves.

That kind of betrayal is a common story. But the bro code, where emotions are involved, quickly turns into a code of silence—which can lead to dangerous consequences, especially when it comes to girls.

The Dark Side of the Code

THAT CODE OF SILENCE—NOT LOYALTY—IS ONE reason boys have a hard time coming forward when they see other guys doing something humiliating or dangerous with a girl. When adults see disturbing stories of sexual misconduct perpetrated by groups of boys while other kids remain passive bystanders, it can be difficult to fathom. But for boys conditioned to avoid rocking the boat and to accept bad behavior from those who outrank them in the social hierarchy, combined with the punitive approach that adults use to talk to boys about these issues (if they talk at all), the outcome is predictable.

Ricky, the boy from New Orleans, told me the story of a guy at his school who recorded himself having sex with different girls and then started showing the videos around the school. "Do you want to be next?" he'd ask girls as a way to seduce new partners, according to Ricky. "The girls that don't have a lot of self-esteem go for it," he said. "The ones who do have self-esteem think it's disgusting."

How do the other boys react? "Some guys say, 'Good job, man. How many videos do you have?' ... Others say the guy is a clown. It's a divide."

None of them, however, stepped in to tell the guy to stop showing the videos. Why? According to Ricky, the girls were recorded consensually (at least taking the word of the friend). It was the girls' choice, he said, to allow the videos to be taken. And it's worth bearing in mind that for the selfie generation, raised in an era when celebrity sex tapes are commonplace, public sexuality doesn't always seem particularly taboo.

Even Dre—maker of that cute Instagram collage—tells the story of a time at a party when he watched some boys get drunk and aggressive with girls, touching and grabbing. "There was one girl downstairs, and one dude grabbed her and tried to take her upstairs. She was conscious, but she was drunk too, so she was laughing about it." He didn't get involved to stop it. "It wasn't my place," he says. Drinking, getting out of control, taking risqué photos of one another—all these things are incredibly common at parties. It's often a case of blurred lines. When behavior crosses lines, what those lines even are isn't always clear to teenagers.



Beyond Boy World

SO YES, BOYS WANT SEX. AND WHAT MIGHT LOOK TO adults like illogical, risky or callous behavior in pursuit of sex can seem like the only option to boys in the moment. It's part of a complicated dynamic in which they're trying to reinforce or elevate their social status among their peers, including girls. But boys want other things too. They want intimacy, love and romance. They want trust and respect from their peers. And they want to be able to talk about their emotions and be taken seriously. Making that possible isn't just important for them; it's part of helping them become better partners, fathers and community members.

The question for adults is what to do. How do we break through boys' silence? Judging from what I've learned from boys, constant questioning (How was your day? How was your test?), especially right after school, just causes them to shut down. Boys will open up to us when we say less and connect during quieter times—in the car, watching TV or at the foot of his bed in the evening.

If you can get them to talk, what do you say? First, it's very important to let them know that you don't assume anything about them or their friends. Whether you're talking about alcohol, drugs, girls or bullying, you can begin by saying, "I don't know if you are ever going to have this experience, but if you do, I want you to be prepared."

Let them know there are no excuses. Sometimes boys will get drunk so they don't have to take responsibility for their behavior, particularly with girls, so let them know that being drunk doesn't let

70%

Percentage of boys who say they have not discussed how to use a condom or other birth-control methods with their parents

47.4%

Percentage of U.S. students in grades 9 through 12 who reported ever having had sex in 2011, a decrease from 1991, when the rate was 54.1%

FOR AN EXCERPT FROM THE GUIDE, WISEMAN'S BOOK OF ADVICE FOR BOYS, GO TO time.com/boys

them off the hook. Stress that this is about how to live with yourself and how you look at yourself as a man. When it comes to hookups and relationships, you can talk to them about body language. Does this person really want to be there? Say that if you're unsure about it, it's a no. You can also remind them that they don't have to accept every sexual advance that comes their way. Tell them they are no less a man if they say no to a girl. That's not something they hear very often.

If you're a parent with real worries about your son's emotional state, but he says he's fine, tell him the reasons you're asking. In many cases, it's better if this conversation comes from another man, but the key thing is to let him know that there's no shame in feeling bad.

"So often as a male you have to make it look like there's nothing going on in your head, that you've got yourself under control and there's nothing bothering you," Brian, from Yale, says. "And even though I'm sitting here saying a boy should be O.K. expressing his feelings, I don't tell people a lot of things. I don't even know if this is how I am or if I'm just wrapped up in guy culture."

When I ask Dre what advice he'd give parents about how to talk to kids, he says, "Be straight up, and don't assume that we're going through the same things you did. And if you want to know how it is now, ask." He also wishes he and his friends could be straight up with one another when they fall in love: "If you love her, you love her, and you don't have to be like everyone else. You're still cool." ■

Divine!

Divine!

Sweet!

TECH

ARCHITECTS OF ADDICTION

THE RUTHLESS ENGINEERING BEHIND POPULAR MOBILE GAME CANDY CRUSH

BY KYLE ANDERSON



Sweet!

Delicious!

Divi

Delicious!

IT'S WELL PAST MIDNIGHT ON A TUESDAY, and I'm chasing a *Candy Crush* high again. Staring at my iPhone, I am trying to decide which of the game's neon yellow gumdrops to swipe into oblivion. I've been rearranging the same pieces of candy on the same square grid for three days, and I am finally about to score enough points to win. My pulse quickens. My finger flicks. "Sugar crush!" booms a voice from the phone as rainbow-colored fireworks explode onscreen. Thirty-six levels down—and several hundred to go.

I may be addicted, but at least I'm not alone. In the past year, *Candy Crush Saga* has been downloaded some 500 million times and played more than 150 billion times. The game got off to a slow start as an online game two years ago, but after some design changes expressly intended to thwart players tempted to put it down, it has become a global phenomenon—popular everywhere from Brazil to Hong Kong. It is the first game of the smartphone era to top the most downloaded charts for Apple iOS, Google Android and Facebook simultaneously.

The rules of play are simple: line up three candies of the same color and repeat. But within that basic premise, *Candy Crush*'s maker, a London-based software company called King, has devised an apparatus that is almost frighteningly effective at turning new players into fanatics—and making money too. Which is a particularly sweet trick considering that *Candy Crush* is free to download and free to play.

Here's how King does it. Players get five lives—or attempts to solve each board—to start. Once a user runs out of lives, a timer begins counting down, and after half an hour the game gives them another free admission ticket. (You can also beg your Facebook friends to donate their extra lives.) But for the impatient there's a cash shortcut. Players can spend money—in 99¢ increments—to improve their performance or skip the half-hour wait to play again. *Candy Crush* has an eerie knack for asking you for money just at the moment you're most willing to pay.

King, of course, is hardly the first com-

pany to come up with a hit app. Rovio, creator of *Angry Birds*, and Mojang, maker of *Minecraft*, have spawned lucrative franchises based on their popular games. Worldwide mobile-game revenue through Apple and Google platforms is expected to exceed \$10 billion this year, according to Eilers Research. But King's ability to make money from free games in an industry littered with firms that have failed to translate popularity into continuous profit is unique. The privately held company doesn't release sales figures, but analytics firm Think Gaming estimates that *Candy Crush* alone rakes in nearly \$900,000 every day. "Angry Birds" claim to fame is number of downloads," explains Michael Pachter, an analyst at research firm Wedbush Securities. "But King? They're making money."

But it's more than that. In the age of binge media—think full television seasons on Netflix—*Candy Crush* and its 500 levels are a diversion seemingly tailored to our times, a phosphorescent Rubik's Cube with a coin slot. *Candy Crush* is by no means the world's most popular video game, but it may well be the most habit-forming. Consider Andy Jarc, who

has made it to the upper echelons of the game, level 440. (King adds more levels every two weeks.) "I started, and at first I was like, 'Whatever.' But as I played more and more, it got addicting," says Jarc, a 22-year-old financial adviser in New York, who adds that, like many users, he often finds himself thinking about the game even when he's not playing. "Eventually, my life began running in 30-minute segments."

CANDY LAND

TO UNDERSTAND WHY *CANDY CRUSH* IS SO hypnotic, you have to talk to the man whom King employees know as the guru. Tommy Palm, a 39-year-old Swede, is the chief architect of *Candy Crush*'s success. Palm began programming as a hobby in 1986. He founded his own mobile-game studio, Fabrication Games, in 2009. Three years later, King acquired the company for an undisclosed sum to get its hands on Palm's expertise in mobile games.

Candy Crush had been a simple beat-the-clock game on King.com without any in-game extras to purchase. A later Facebook version gained a somewhat larger following. King executives knew they would have to make the game available on hot-selling mobile devices to get bigger. But the company had run into problems making a version of another title, *Bubble Witch Saga*, for phones, says Sebastian Knutsson, King's co-founder and chief creative officer. "It wasn't designed for a small screen," he says. "We brought Tommy in because he had mobile experience."

That's when Palm and his team began retooling *Candy Crush*. They started by tweaking the interface, resizing the icons and making the game usable in both landscape and portrait orientations. That made *Candy Crush* playable with one hand—a minor change but one that helped turn it into a favorite of subway commuters and office workers holding their phone beneath a conference-room table. Says Palm: "It's a lot of these small, seemingly insignificant design decisions that really make it work."

Candy Crush also became one of the

**'IT'S A LOT OF THESE
SMALL, SEEMINGLY
INSIGNIFICANT DESIGN
DECISIONS THAT REALLY
MAKE IT WORK.'**

—TOMMY PALM, King's mobile head, on what makes *Candy Crush* so addictive



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THE SWEET SPOT

Why Candy Crush sticks with players

Users can give—and get—extra lives via Facebook.

There are about 500 levels, and designers add more every other week.

The game gives positive feedback for nearly every click and tap.

Well, sort of. Players can pay for power-ups to skip past wait times.

Increasingly varied puzzles often take multiple attempts to complete.

Candy Crush syncs progress across mobile devices and Facebook.



first games in which almost every aspect of playing was synched across platforms. Buy an extra life on your phone, for instance, and it automatically appears if you pick up the game on Facebook. What's more, users can play offline, without a cell-phone or wi-fi signal, and have their progress saved once they have service again. That means a game of *Candy Crush* is accessible almost anytime, anywhere. Knutsson credits this feature with a massive uptick in the number of players.

Then there are the innovations aimed at taking advantage of human psychology. *Candy Crush* essentially offers all of itself up front for free. But it also makes players pace themselves, forcing them to wait to replenish their store of lives or access certain levels—or pay extra to proceed. "That makes you not burn out straightaway," explains Palm, making it more likely players will stay with the game over the long haul. Or as Jarc, the player, puts it, "You want what you can't have. I can't have more lives, and I want them." (Some high-level players have even taken to gaming the system by changing the clock on their phones to accrue free lives more quickly.)

On top of that, there's a surplus of relentlessly positive feedback. When players match pieces, encouragements like "Sweet!" or "Delicious!" pop up. In

fact, nearly every click or tap is met with some kind of ebullient response from the game. "Positive rewards are the main reason people become addicted to things," says Dr. Kimberly Young, a psychologist and expert on Internet and gaming addiction. Palm says the game also alternates between difficult and easy levels to balance players' frustration with a sense of mastery.

By January of this year, the design changes had hooked some 70 million players a month. By May, that number of people were playing every day. According to figures provided by King, the vast majority are playing on their mobile devices.

ONCE YOU'RE LUCKY

EVEN WITH ITS WINNING FORMULA, *CANDY CRUSH* isn't guaranteed to stay on top. The fall of once hot Zynga looms over King and other mobile gamemakers' every business decision. Famous for the success of its popular Facebook game *FarmVille*, San Francisco-based Zynga went public in December 2011 to great fanfare. Since then the company's revenue and stock price have slumped. "Investors have soured on the social-gaming category because of one company," says Steve Swasey, vice president of gamemaker Kabam, referring to Zynga. The company stumbled in part because it could not translate the

success of its Facebook-based games to mobile phones.

That has led game companies to look for other sources of revenue. *Angry Birds* creator Rovio, for instance, now profits from merchandise ranging from lunch boxes to bedsprings, as well as an animated television show. So far, *Candy Crush* has not lent itself to these kinds of lucrative extensions in the U.S., save for a line of gummies and chocolate balls sold at boutique store Dylan's Candy Bar.

King's Knutsson says the company is now focused on making games that are "mobile first" and that it has a long tradition of finding colorful new premises. According to reports by multiple financial-news sources, the company filed confidential paperwork for an initial public offering earlier this year. A King spokesperson declined to comment.

One thing is certain: King must find a way to port the *Candy Crush* magic to other titles. "I think that all games have a lifespan," says Palm. In November the company released *Papa Pear Saga* for mobile devices. Though it differs from its predecessor in some ways, the game bears more than a passing resemblance to *Candy Crush*. It is brightly colored, filled with peppy congratulations and syncs between mobile and Facebook versions. I'm already up to level 22. ■

BOSE
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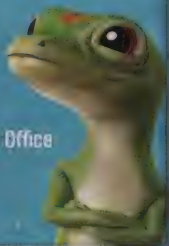
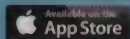
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Art / Cinema / Food / Money / Movies / Music / Sports / Tech / Television / Travel

The Culture

58 POP CHART Crazy Christmas carols / **60 ART** David Hockney's English idyll / **64 TUNED IN** The new glut of Sunday night TV / **65 MOVIES** *Catching Fire* and *Frozen*

Pop Chart

LOVE IT



TIME's Lev Grossman calls **Ann Patchett's** essay collection *This is the Story of a Happy Marriage* "wise, funny and peerlessly, painfully honest."

Daily Show correspondent **John Oliver** will get his own HBO talk show—and he credits it all to Jon Stewart: "If I fail ... it's entirely his fault."

More than 13,000 people helped the Make-A-Wish Foundation turn San Francisco into Gotham City so 5-year-old Mies Scott—who's battling leukemia—could be a **real-life Batkid** for a day.



A DVD-extra "alternate ending" reveals that **Break-Ins** *Bad was* actually a nightmare dreamed up by Bryan Cranston's other TV staple, Hal from *Malcolm in the Middle*.



MAKE REVIEW

Sing, O lads,
of girls—
the dance-y tracks
are fun. But:
Why all the
ballads?

—LILY ROTHMAN ON ONE DIRECTION'S **MIDNIGHT MEMORIES** (OUT NOV. 25)

THE DIGITS

17,000%

Increase in usage of the word *selfie*—recently named Oxford Dictionaries Word of the Year—since 2012. The term originated in 2002, when a man used it to describe a face-injury shot he posted to an Australian online forum.



MONEY SHOT Helmut Newton was best known for photos, often in black and white, like 1986's *Fat Hand and Dollars*, Monte Carlo, but he was also a big supporter of his fellow artists. Accordingly, a retrospective of his work is now being shown at his namesake foundation in Berlin (through May 18) alongside photos by Greg Gorman.

QUICK TALK

Sarah Silverman

The Emmy-winning comedian has already joked about selling the Vatican and encouraged her Jewish fans to get their Florida-resident *bubbes* to vote. Now Silverman, 42, returns to the rich comedy well of religion—and lots else—in her new special, *We Are Miracles*, premiering Nov. 23 on HBO. —LILY ROTHMAN

Your special is called *We Are Miracles*. Has anything miraculous happened to you lately? Uh ... It's O.K., we can talk about Thanksgiving instead. As a vegetarian, what's your go-to turkey substitute? I do enjoy Tofurky, but there have been sad Thanksgivings where my sister and I just sat in my apartment eating out of a can of cranberry sauce with a fork and—Oh! I thought of a miraculous thing! **What is it?** I was walking down Fifth Avenue at, like, 2 in the morning with a friend. It's cold and I'm all bundled up. In the distance I see another woman and a guy walking toward us. Then, without any words or anything, as we pass, the girl and I grabbed hands, spun around three times and then let go and kept walking.

Wow. It was so magical. You get asked a lot about the state of women in comedy. Does that bother you? To be honest, that question is a relic of another time. I mean, this is a very real time for women right now. Our rights are being chipped away at. But women in comedy? Women *run* comedy. It's all Tina Fey and Amy Poehler and Chelsea Handler and Melissa McCarthy. Those are the power players. **So will the question go away soon?** Maybe if I keep shaming you guys. But you know, I think the question is relevant because of that answer.

66
ON MY
RADAR

► The British TV shows **Orphan Black** and **Broadchurch**

"I don't know how to choose between all my babies. Television's my passion. That's probably not cool to say."

► Miley Cyrus' **Bangerz**

"I like Patty Griffin, Johnny Cash, folk-country ... but I listen to the radio."





WHERE THERE'S SMOKE ... Almost anything can be art, and if you ask Olaf Breuning, that includes air itself—as seen here in *Smoke Grid*, a piece that will emit psychedelic smoke patterns on Dec. 4 in a park in Miami Beach. Breuning's installation is one of dozens of open exhibitions for the public section of Art Basel Miami Beach (Dec. 5–8), which helps ensure that the renowned art festival isn't just for wealthy collectors.

Holiday (Off)beats

These days, releasing a contemporary(ish) album of Christmas songs is basically a pop-music rite of passage. (See recent efforts from Kelly Clarkson, Justin Bieber, Mary J. Blige and more.) But what of the would-be additions to the holiday catalog that are a bit—shall we say—less than classic? Here, a look at some of the wackier attempts to make Christmas-music history.

KATE BUSH
"Misty" [the Snowman]
'WHAT KIND OF SPIRIT IS THIS? HIS BREATH ALL MISTY ... WHEN I KISS HIS ICE CREAM LIPS'

SUFIAN STEVENS
"Christmas Unicorn"
'I'm a frantic shopper and a brave pill-popper ... They say my kind are rare'

LADY GAGA
"Christmas Tree"
'Light me up, put me on top, let's Fa-la-la-la-la, la-la, la, la'

BOB DYLAN
"It Must Be Santa"
'DASHER, DANCER, PRANCER, VIXEN, CARTER, REAGAN, BUSH AND CLINTON'

THE KILLERS
"Don't Shoot Me Santa"

"OH, SANTA, I'VE BEEN WAITING ON YOU," "THAT'S FUNNY, KID, BECAUSE I'VE BEEN COMING FOR YOU"



Kanye West's
"Bound 2"
music video features wild stunts, '90s-era CGI and too much topless Kim Kardashian.



Some U.S. stamp enthusiasts are blasting the Postal Service for its new Harry Potter collection because the boy wizard is not American. Accio chill pill, anyone?

An Antwerp library copy of *Fifty Shades of Grey* tested positive for traces of herpes after two Belgium University researchers ran the world's most random bacteriology experiment.

Budding YouTube star Chip Chocolate

dropped a new single, "Cookie Dance." The lyrics are fun ("Me and Mrs. Fields wakin' bakin' in the kitchen"), but the beat lacks flavor.

ASH: FINE'S COMPLETE
TV: FRACASO MINDS
COVERS: MATH
time.com/
entertainment

Force of Nature

David Hockney goes big and goes home

By Richard Lacayo

LANDSCAPE IS NOT EXACTLY A WIDESPREAD pursuit among painters these days. Maybe nature feels too threatened to be treated in a straightforward way. That hill, those woods? Only a matter of time before the frackers come in. And then there's David Hockney, long the Peter Pan of British painting, now, strange to say, its gray eminence at age 76. In the mid-2000s he took up residence in England after spending most of the previous four decades in Los Angeles—and not just in England but in Bridlington, a Yorkshire coastal town east of the more industrial city of Bradford, where he grew up. In the years that followed, though he continued making portraits, his obsession was landscape. An aging artist immersing himself in the cycle of the seasons, he made the fields and woodlands of East Yorkshire his equivalent of Monet's garden. Seven years ago I spent a couple of days with him there. On visits to the sites he was painting, you could sense the blood rush of renewal this project gave him. When he explained about the life force exploding through a mature tree, you didn't have to wonder who he was really talking about.

Last year London's Royal Academy of Arts staged a sizable survey of his landscapes, some 200 works, in a show called "A Bigger Picture." It turned out to be a huge crowd magnet. Now the de Young Museum in San Francisco has come up with "David Hockney: A Bigger Exhibition," on view through Jan. 20. If nothing else

it is truly bigger, with over 300 works that include dozens of portraits, pictures made on iPads and iPhones, multiscreen videos and room after room of landscapes, including colossal multicanvas views of the Yorkshire countryside, many of them in an eye-scorching palette beloved of Van Gogh and the Fauves, to say nothing of *The Simpsons*.

This summer Hockney settled back again in L.A., so the de Young show, organized by his longtime friend, curator and manager Gregory Evans, may represent the full arc of his years-long return to his roots, an interlude now drawing to a close. It produced some spectacular results, like the four monumental views of Woldgate Woods from various seasons, each composed of six canvases combined to make a single 12 by 6 ft. (3.7 by 1.8 m) image. Spread out as though on a proscenium, the woods unfold like one of Hockney's opera sets, with violet and citric lime providing the high notes instead of Mozart or Puccini. The effect is electric, all the more because it's counterintuitive. When was the last time the English countryside was rendered in the hothouse colors of Provence?

Having traveled in the American West, with these massive pictures Hockney is also envisioning English landscape in majestic American terms, larger even than the British painter John Constable's "6-footers" of the 1820s, matched instead to the wide-screen dimensions of Albert Bierstadt's views of the

INTO THE WOODS

In the mid-2000s, Hockney relocated from Los Angeles to East Yorkshire, where he dived into the surrounding countryside



Rockies and the panoramas of Frederic Edwin Church. It's a scale Hockney had been thinking about as long ago as 1980, when he produced *Mulholland Drive: The Road to the Studio*, his almost cinematic conjunction of scenes along the road. When the combination of scale and palette works, the new pictures go off like a bomb. An explosive cartoon like *May Blossom on the Roman Road*, from 2009, with its pulsing sky of Van Gogh swirls and its shadows pooling on a rose pink road, gives the swelling bounty of spring a scary tumescence.

But in too many of these paintings, size inflation doesn't do much to intensify the experience, especially with the pictures Hockney has been making on iPhones and iPads. Because he's a wizardly draftsman, he can coax miracles of detailed drawing out of a PaintBox app. Even so, when those images are blown up and printed at large scale they go dead. Amplification just exposes their bland passages and empty transitions. And after a while his many small watercolors make you think of Renoir's late nudes—sunlit, numerous and a bit complacent.

This may be why Hockney keeps trying to shake up the game with various formal devices. In some of the big composite paintings, each component canvas has a thin wooden perimeter. Taken together they impose a modernist grid across the assembled image, dividing it into bordered zones that deliberately frustrate your impulse to enter the coherent illusion of a scene. But there's not much here to match the crazy-quilt intelligence of Hockney's Cubist landscapes of the 1980s, like *Mulholland Drive* and *A Visit With Christopher and Don*, a riff on the side-to-side narrative of Chinese scroll painting in which he gets a single canvas to lay before you a roller-coastering day's worth of sights, indoors and out. Pleasure has always been a categorical imperative for Hockney, but the real power of his best work has been in the way he linked his sensuality to rigorous formal invention. Here? Not so much.

Which is surprising, since Hockney still has his pedagogical side, his tireless impulse to school us about the shortcomings of single-point perspective and show us how much more fun you can have when you look at something from many sides. For decades he's been Cubism's



SEASON'S GREETINGS

Waldgate Woods, 30 March–21 April, 2006, from a series of four multicanvas views of the same wooded area at different times of year



THERE'S AN APP FOR THAT

In recent years, Hockney has been using iPads and iPhones to make color drawings like this one, *Yosemite I*, October 18th 2011



HIGH-TECH SAILOR *A Bigger*
Material: Anselm Kiefer 2, 2008 is
another of Hockney's exercises in
the application of technology to
art—an inkjet-printed computer
drawing on paper



HOME FRONT *Undertaking: Hockney's*
October, November, December,
2011; a view of the Yorkshire town
that was Hockney's base in England

truest true believer, insisting that nothing less than multiple perspectives can convey the real darting-around experience of looking. (He has a point there.) It was to solve that problem that he produced his canny photo collages of the 1980s, combining multiple Polaroids or prints, each taken from a slightly different vantage point and sometimes over a period of minutes or even hours. The result was an unstable picture plane, embedded with diverse moments and perspectives, that your delighted eye navigated like an ice floe. In the same vein, among his new videos are four made by taking a car mounted with nine mini cameras down the same wooded road in various seasons, each lens pointed in a slightly different direction. What that produces is a nine-screen video mural with that same undulant ice-floe surface, one that also nods to the faceted picture plane that the Cubists borrowed from Cézanne. The effect is mesmerizing.

Despite his devotion to the ancient practices of painting and drawing—a polemical stand itself in a postpainterly era of video, installation and performance art—Hockney has always loved new technologies and the ways they can serve art. He has spent years developing a theory, not much accepted by art historians, that the emergence of precise illusionism in 15th century Western painting was due to the quiet adoption by artists of new optical devices that let them more or less trace complex backgrounds, figures and faces. In his portraits Hockney has sometimes used one, the camera lucida, a prism that casts the model's image onto a sheet of paper. And as newer devices came along, he's made fax pictures, inkjet-printed computer images and all those drawings on iPhones and iPads.

Still, they're no match for the beautifully intricate charcoal drawings that Hockney made earlier this year to record the return of spring to Yorkshire, with their dense fields of granular observation. Likewise his best portraits lately aren't usually the oils and computer images but the drawings, complex and deeply considered freehand excursions, a low-tech practice carried out at the high pitch of capability he possesses.

Pleasures like those pop up all around "A Bigger Exhibition." That's how you know Hockney would have been better served by a smaller one. ■

Tuned In

Month of Sundays. On TV's biggest night, it's too much of a good thing

By David Permut

I SHOULD STIPULATE UP FRONT: IF YOU want to read about a legitimate human problem, turn to another section of this magazine. People are suffering from war, illness and poverty, and their plights deserve our attention. That said, there's too much TV to watch on Sunday nights.

Yes, there's TV every night and every day. But since *The Sopranos* held the spotlight alone, Sunday has become the showcase for marquee series. This fall there's cable's most popular drama, *The Walking Dead*. *Homeland*, *Boardwalk Empire* and *The Good Wife*. *Masters of Sex* and sundry other boutique cable shows. *The Amazing Race*, *60 Minutes*, *Once Upon a Time*, *Revenge* and Fox's entire animation slate. And that's not counting football, the odd Discovery and History megaspecial, *Downton Abbey* and *Sherlock* (in January) or *Game of Thrones* and the last season of *Mad Men* (starting in the spring).

Who has time to watch it all in one night? No one. That's kind of the idea. Sunday's embarrassment of TV riches is as much the product of technology as of creativity. Because you can now watch your shows on DVR, on demand, on Net-

flix, on Hulu and so on, Sunday is less an airdate and more a premiere date, like Friday for movies. TV executives know Sunday is overscheduled, but they program their prestige shows then precisely because that's when people are paying attention, buzzing, live-tweeting. You don't watch TV on Sunday nights so much as you acquire it. You back up your TiVo and load it with episodes like so many jumbo packs of tuna from Costco.

Then it's up to you to consume them before the expiration date. You strategize: one show live on Sunday, one on DVR after it, another the next night—all while the recorder sucks up more content each night, and, holy crap, here comes Sunday again. Stockpiles of perfectly good shows build up, watched only by the unloving plastic eye of your hard drive. See you in the next life, *Eastbound & Down*!

The idea of anointing a single night the Capital of Television is not new. In the 20th century, when after a long day of gathering berries and hunting mammoths people would watch live shows, NBC promoted Thursday as "Must See TV." Ah, simple days of yore! You started your night with

Friends and ended it with *ER*. Or you didn't. But either way, you went to bed and it was over, and you woke up in the morning with a clean slate.

Now that slate is never clean. If today's Sunday is "Must See TV," that phrase is less promise than command, as in *The Simpsons* (Sundays at 8!) episode in which Homer was force-fed all-you-can-eat doughnuts in hell.

There's a cultural, even emotional difference between Thursday and Sunday. Thursday is a tie-loosening day of anticipation: one last night in before heading out on Friday night or away for the weekend. Thursday is the beginning of something; Sunday is the end. It's the melancholy waning of the weekend, the dread of Monday's alarm clock. It's stealing a little more time from tomorrow—one more hour, one more show.

Like many First World problems, the Sunday TV glut is an example of how technology is both liberating and smothering. Your smart devices are wonderful because they keep you from being tied to the office; they are terrible because you bring the office everywhere. Just so, it's great that you can have entertainment on your time, on your terms, that you can record Sunday and make it last all week. But it's also a kind of lie—the lie that you can hack your life, use your day more efficiently and never miss a thing.

We hurtle through our overscheduled lives like so many Hermione Grangers with Time-Turners. But you can cheat time only so much. You can fast-forward ads or stash the last season of *Breaking Bad* in your carry-on, but life is still finite. Chores must be done, money made, actual human interactions had. You will not see everything you want to see and do everything you want to do. You will have to choose.

TV overload, in other words, is the kind of minor, ludicrous, nonproblem problem that at least gives us practice in dealing with the real thing. And no one is immune. Jenni Konner, a TV writer and producer, jokingly tweeted late one recent weekend, "Kids, put yourselves to bed Sundays. There's so much TV." She should know: *Girls*, the acclaimed series she co-executive produces, returns to HBO in January. Sunday nights at 10. ■



Movies



Slow Burn. The star is the spark of this *Hunger Games* sequel

By Richard Corliss

"WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE IN A REAL WAR?" whispers President Snow (Donald Sutherland), as if he's offering a poisoned sweet to a child. "No," replies Katniss Everdeen (Jennifer Lawrence), and Snow says, "Neither would I." In a rebellion of the serfs, Katniss the archer princess could lose her life and Snow could lose his post as the tyrant of that future American dystopia—in fantasy fiction, is there any other topia?—known as Panem. Yet the war drums start to throb in *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire*, director Francis Lawrence's erratically entertaining film of the second book in Suzanne Collins' young-adult trilogy. Portent outweighs action in an episode that builds tension and marks time until *Mockingjay*, the series' two-part conclusion, when all Panem demonium promises to break loose.

Last year's *Hunger Games*, a box office champ that earned nearly \$700 million worldwide, introduced an annual killer Olympics, in which two tribunes representing each part of Panem—from posh, one-percent District 1 to Katniss's Appalachian disaster zone, District 12—hunt one another for televised sport. Katniss managed to save herself and her fellow twelfth Peeta (Josh Hutcherson), vexing Snow to no end. This year, he proclaims the third Quarter Quell, a sort of *Survivor*:

All Stars pitting former victors from each district against one another. Under the connivance of Head Gamemaker Plutarch Heavensbee (Philip Seymour Hoffman), Katniss will vie with Peeta against expert foes, including the preening hunk Finnick (Sam Claflin) and the punkster Johanna (Jena Malone). May the best victor live.

Like Super Bowl Sunday, when more TV time is wasted on pregame folderol than is spent on actual football, *Catching Fire* moseys through half of its 2-hr. 26-min. running time setting up Katniss's rivalries and dropping hints. Once in the faux jungle, the movie sparks to life with toxic fog and attacks by evil monkeys. And even in the slow bits, there's the eerie pleasure of observing Lawrence. Since the first film, the 23-year-old actress has won an Oscar (for *Silver Linings Playbook*) and cemented her rep as the U.S.'s most watchable young star. Her sullen face sponges up the emotions of other characters—and of the viewer. Spinning in a wedding dress or in wary repose, Lawrence catches fire onscreen. She'll make a superb Pasionaria when Panem has a real war.

The hand signal for the story's rebels is three fingers raised silently. *Catching Fire* deserves neither a one-finger salute nor a thumbs-up. We'll give it two fingers and hope the third time's the charm.

Just Chilling

Frozen's a fairy-tale update that warms the heart

The princesses of Arendelle, the mordant Elsa (Idina Menzel) and her perky kid sister Anna (Kristen Bell), have a problem: Elsa's magical mistake. Blessed or cursed with powers of sorcery, she inadvertently wreaked perennial winter on her kingdom before fleeing to her mountain top ice palace. To restore the seasons, Anna must become her sister's captor and savior.

Lusciously directed by Disney animators Chris Buck and Jennifer Lee, *Frozen* turns Hans Christian Andersen's "The Snow Queen" into a fable of modern or timeless sisterhood. As Elsa and Anna test their emotions for each other and for a retinue of swains, Menzel and Bell lend vocal ingenuity to a full, Broadway-ready score by Robert Lopez (Avenue Q, *The Book of Mormon*) and Kristen Anderson Lopez. The tone vaults from romantic to scary and then into high-altitude comedy with the appearance of Olaf (Mormon's Josh Gad), a chipper snowman who dreams, ignorantly but rapturously, of summer in the tropics. The effect on moviegoers should be similarly sunny. Child, teen or senior, you'll warm to *Frozen*. —R.C.

Reindeer-riding suitor Kristoff



My 3% Problem

Income inequality is so unfair. How can I fight it without giving up any money?



BEFORE I BECAME rich, I assumed rich people just looked out the windows of

their Hollywood Hills homes, eating truffled popcorn and congratulating themselves on being smart enough to go into the lucrative field of journalism. But it turns out there's a lot of guilt involved. Sure, most of the time I'm jealous of the 3% of Americans who make more money than I do, with their tacky, slightly more expensive cars and their gaudy, slightly bigger diamond rings. But sometimes I feel bad for the 97%. And I want everyone to know I feel bad. Not bad enough to give my money away, but whatever the level of bad is that's right below actually doing something about it.

So when I read Bruce

McCall and David Letterman's terrific new book, *This Land Was Made for You and Me (But Mostly Me)*, I was deeply jealous. Not because the jokes and drawings that parody one-percenters are great (a 36-hole golf course built on the Sahara, an Olympic-size Jacuzzi powered by its own nuclear plant). No, I was jealous because McCall and Letterman were rich people who had figured out how to seem like they cared about income inequality. And got paid to do it.

I too want people to know that I think it's unsustainable for 1% of Americans to have over 35% of the wealth, while 80% have just 11%. I want

everyone to know that I think it's wrong that the CEOs of the largest American companies make in one hour what their average employees make in a month and that I silently judge my CEO friends for this at their parties. I want to inform the public that I'm certain that if cities like Los Angeles continue to have a 66% high school graduation rate in an economy where there are no jobs for people without a high school diploma, we'll have gated-off security zones for rich people like they do in Johannesburg, which is a look I find aesthetically displeasing. I want them to know that I vote for candidates who will raise my taxes because I want a more just society and not because I've noticed that even when they win, they never succeed in raising taxes.

Yet few people know this part of me, largely because it's such a tiny part. I should make more of an effort, like millionaires Russell Simmons, Alec Baldwin and Kanye West did when they visited Occupy Wall Street. So I called McCall, whom I've known for a long time. He has taken me to dinner at great Upper West Side restaurants and drives everywhere he goes, even in Manhattan, just so he can smoke cigars. Though I've never seen him wear a monocle, that does not mean he doesn't own a monocle.

But when I called him for advice on how rich guys like us should show people how much we hate rich guys like us, McCall informed me that he's not

a rich guy. Our argument involved a lot of complex math and economic history:

McCall: "I'm a middle class guy. I don't have a lot of money."

Me: "You're not middle class."

McCall: "I am so."

Me: "You are not."

McCall: "I started lower middle class, and now I'm middle class. I don't know what the definition is."

Me: "I do. It's how much money you have."

McCall: "It's not just a question of money. It's a matter of social standing and education. I'm a high school dropout for God's sake."

Me: "Social standing? You write and draw covers for the *New Yorker*."

McCall: "I'm lucky to be mistaken for those Harvard assholes. I didn't get to the *New Yorker* until I was almost 40 because I was afraid of them. I was a yokel from Canada who couldn't go to their dinner parties."

Me: "But now you hang out with them?"

McCall: "My father didn't even own a car."

The lesson was clear: Deny,

deny, deny. Now if someone asks me if I'm rich, I tell them that during the Depression, my grandfather worked three eight-hour shifts in a row for the post office, sleeping in the back of a mail truck in between stops. If someone asks me how much I've got invested in mutual funds, I tell them I had a mullet in high school.

As to what I should actually do, I sought advice from a rich friend who created a foundation to help fight income inequality. He told me that giving away my money wouldn't change anything, which I thought was just another way the 1% make fun of how little money we three-percenters have. But he meant that the problem is systemic and complex, and can't be solved through single donations or perhaps even by simple redistribution. He advised me to work on grassroots problems instead of calling people hypocrites. In other words: Write columns that no one will read. The only income inequality that is going to solve is mine.



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10 Questions

Kentridge makes animated films out of charcoal drawings like this one from *Stereoscope*



South African artist **William Kentridge** on drawing, why he needs a messy desk and the future of his country

You've worked in opera, tapestry, sculpture, puppetry, animation, film and drawing. Is there a through line?

The heart of it is drawing, starting where you don't know quite what you're doing and discovering what the drawing will be, rather than knowing the script in advance and following it.

Two American museums just bought your video piece *Refusal of Time*. What is it about?

I was interested in the pressure we have to try to escape our destiny, which is another way to think about time. And how to materialize time—play music backward and forward, slow it down, run a camera backward, undoing all the things we wish we could.

What did you mean when you wrote in your new book, *Fortuna*, that the job of the artist is to fight against entropy?

Entropy in its simplest form refers to the tendency of everything to collapse. If you smash a vase and throw the pieces in the air, they won't reassemble in the shape of the perfect vase. But the job of the artist is to smash the vase and then fashion something coherent out of those shards.

Your father, a lawyer, represented Stephen Biko and Nelson Mandela. How much has that influenced your work?

I think having parents who are lawyers pushed me to find an activity in which I could

find meaning with a different kind of logic that was impervious to cross-examination.

It wasn't a desire to reflect the situation in South Africa?

There was definitely a sense, growing up in that family, of the unnaturalness of South African society. One couldn't assume that the police were going to be the good guys, as they are in fiction, that we lived in the benevolent world shown in so many children's stories.

We've just had the 15th anniversary of the first Truth and Reconciliation Commission reports, in which people confessed their crimes in exchange for amnesty. Looking back, was it a success?

It was a compromise. We had to choose between truth and justice, and we knew we could not achieve justice, which is to say people being held responsible for their actions. That has longer-term consequences of people feeling betrayed, both at the individual and the larger level. I suspect we're

still dealing with this. Or need to be.

Is it true you like to keep a cluttered desk in your studio?

I don't like to, but it is cluttered. In a sense the studio

becomes like an expanded head, with different fragments of ideas moving across it as you lie awake at 4 a.m., and there are 50 different anxieties that your brain jumps between.

I can't imagine you having 50 different anxieties.

The crow of anxiety always finds some branch to land on.

You're internationally famous, but only among a subset of people. Is the era when an artist could have a Picasso-like impact over?

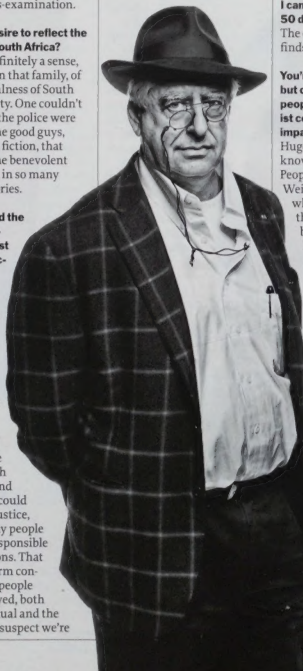
Huge numbers of people know Damien Hirst's shark. People know about Ai Weiwei, the Chinese artist who was put in prison, although few people would be able to put an image to his name. But no, there's no figure like Picasso. Of course not.

Your dad retired last year at 90. Do you foresee such longevity for your career?

I can't imagine it, but I can't imagine doing anything else. Somebody did say, "If you didn't have to work, what would you do?" And I said, "I could spend so much time in my studio."

How do you keep those glasses on?

You have to have the right kind of nose. —BELINDA LUSCOMBE



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